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CHARLES FREMONT TAYLO

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A The Gift of Friends

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A CONCLUSIVE PEACE

PRESENTING THE HISTORICALLY LOGICAL,
AND A FEASIBLE, PLAN OF ACTION FOR THE
COMING PEACE CONFERENCE, WHICH WILL
CO-ORDINATE AND HARMONIZE EUROPE,
AND THE WORLD

—BY—

CHARLES FREMONT TAYLOR [M.D.]

Editor of EQUITY, a magazine devoted wholly to improved methods of
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editor of THE MEDICAL WORLD

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FOREWORD

“Who caused the war?” “Who is responsible for the war?” “Who began the war?” These and similar questions are “investigated” and debated in newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books without end. The “white papers,” “yellow papers,” etc., are analyzed and discussed, and every “investigator” proves to his own satisfaction exactly what he wishes to prove.

The diplomatic activities in the crucial and fatal days of late July and early August, 1914, were unparalleled. Tremendous stakes depended on their results. Yet there was no “getting together” of the officials who held the destinies of nations and of millions of human beings in their hands. The capitals of Europe are far apart for the discussion of such momentous concerns and for decisions which involved peace or war over nearly the whole continent of Europe.

Every diplomat and secretary for foreign affairs of the nations involved says that he is not to blame. Everyone can make out a

Foreword

clear case for himself, entirely satisfactory to himself and to his partisans, placing the entire blame upon the enemies of his country.

What is the answer?

The only adequate answer is that the existing system is wrong. In such a crisis these officials should get together, in the same room. Then there would be no delayed dispatches, no undelivered dispatches, no misdated dispatches, no unreported dispatches, etc., and no misunderstandings. There in that one room, open to the world, open to the press of the world, with the fierce, critical light of civilization playing on that group, with every secret brought out into the light and every pertinent fact laid bare, responsibilities would be placed squarely where they belong, with no possibility of shifting. From such a council, a European war could not have resulted.

If such a getting together would avert danger in a crisis, then a regular getting together at stated intervals, in the general interest, would prevent the development of crises.

In the past, treaties of peace have contained the seeds of future war because they

Foreword

have not provided means by which peace may lead to continued peace. Peace having been used in the preparation for war and in sowing the seeds of war, the natural and inevitable result was war. Such a peace has never been and cannot be conclusive.

Even if the coming peace settlement should be so fair and just that all participants should retire from the peace table with smiling satisfaction, the peace would not be conclusive if there is no provision for a new and permanent political institution in the life of Europe, which will so co-ordinate and adjust the extranational affairs of the nations of Europe that the occasion for war among the national units will disappear.

As long as the minds of Europe dwell on competitive national military power instead of on peaceful international co-operation for mutual benefit, there can be no conclusive peace.

The innocent and distressed "Why?" of a hungry and freezing child in a war-swept country is the most accusing thing that can confront an adult of this generation. More guns and powder cannot answer this humiliating question.

Foreword

It must be evident to all that a conclusive peace cannot be found in the old formulas. In the following pages an attempt is made to at least suggest a better formula, not new, but still untried on an international scale in Europe.

C. F. T.

Philadelphia, U. S. A.,
September, 1916.

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CHAPTER I

All Nations Should Have the Right of Access to the Sea, Thence to the Markets of the World—This Alone Would Eliminate a Large Percentage of the Causes of War.

“Where there is smoke there must be some fire,” is an old saying. “It takes more than one to make a quarrel,” is another. Science says that every phenomenon has a cause; and if we assign a fantastic cause or relation, it is because we are not able to discover the true cause or the true relations. These and other similar truisms and basic principles have a vital relation to war. It cannot be said that wars “just happen.” There must be some philosophy of war—a natural history of war.

The causes which lead to war between nations are not different in principle from the causes which lead to disturbed and antagonistic relations between individuals or between small communities. Hence it is worth while to consider the latter causes, and

particularly to consider how such causes are removed, solving the problem of relation and removing the discord, permitting the resumption of concord, which is the natural relation between individuals and between communities, large or small, when all causes of friction are removed and all relations are harmoniously adjusted.

The world is seeking peace—the world needs peace as it never has needed peace before. Civilization is threatened as it has never been threatened before. But peace will not save civilization if it is the kind of peace that we have heretofore had—a truce for greater military preparation.

The existence of this great war tragically demonstrates some great need in our civilization. Some vital factor is absent, the supplying of which may enable the machinery of civilization to run smoothly, without the danger of an occasional ruinous disaster. Any other machinery subject to the certainty of such disasters would be scrutinized very closely for the cause or causes, and nothing would be considered so important as their removal or the supplying of parts necessary to avert disaster. Sometimes the cause of

CHAP. I] *Access to the Sea*

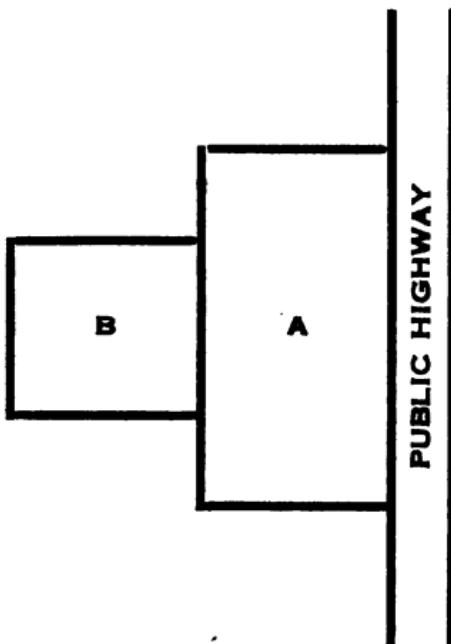
disaster is found to be very simple, and its removal or the supplying of parts to avert danger very easy.

But it may be urged that civilization is an ancient and an exceedingly intricate machine. Granted. Yet, if it does not run safely and successfully, the necessity is none the less urgent for investigation into the cause or causes of its disasters, and the removal of the causes when discovered. Also some new features or attachments to the machine may be needed. If so, attention should be turned to them instead of allowing the machine to go to smash as civilization has gone to smash in Europe. Such new attachments to other machines are sometimes very simple and successful. Let us try to make improvements in the old machine of civilization which will remove the danger of an occasional collapse and disaster.

A frequent situation that leads to antagonism between individuals and also between nations may be illustrated by a very simple diagram. We shall see how easily this situation is adjusted between individuals; and then we shall ask why similar situations leading to antagonism between nations

may not be adjusted in the same way.

This diagram shows the land of B lying back from the public highway, and the land



A diagram showing the land of A intervening between the land of B and the public highway. The problem is, how can B secure, on terms that will be just to both A and B, egress to the public highway and hence to the markets of the world. Egress to any highway to the left is impossible or impracticable, on account of great distance and the possible long stretches of difficult country: marshes, streams, dense woodlands, mountains, etc. This problem is discussed in these pages, applying the principles involved in solving the relations between A and B, to the nations of Europe, many of which are blocked from the sea (the B nations) by coast nations (the A nations) intervening between the B nations and the sea.

of A intervenes between. B has no outlet to the outside world, for on the other side of his land it is a great distance to any public

way, with perhaps swamps, dense woodlands, streams and other natural obstacles intervening. No outlet is practicable except by encroaching to some extent upon the land of A by a right of way either through his land or along its margin.

Suppose A and B were to try to solve the problem of B's outlet to the highway with cudgels, shotguns or other weapons; would the problem ever be solved, and would peace ever reign, except by complete domination of one side over the other? And would such a peace ever be conclusive? Would not the dominated side always seek to become free?

Or suppose the following more "civilized" method should be adopted: A, by treaty, would make conditions upon which B would be allowed egress of persons and products to the public highway and hence to the markets of the world. These conditions would be more or less onerous, including a tariff duty upon all B's products. No one would claim that such an arrangement could lead to a *conclusive* peace between A and B.

The above diagram illustrates, in its simplest form, a problem between private parties that has presented itself in all our states and

in nearly every community, perhaps the world over. This problem, occurring in many forms, is nearly always settled before reaching the courts. Usually, it is settled by private negotiation between the parties. When this method fails, recourse is had to the local commissioners or other body which has authority to decide matters concerning local roadways. The decision of this body is usually just, always allowing egress to B, with the least practicable injury, if any, to the property of A, and assessing the damages to be paid by B, if any, in a fair and impartial spirit. If either A or B should be dissatisfied and should bring the matter to court, the court *always* sustains the principle of right of egress to B, with only just, we might say minimum, damages to A. This principle has found lodgment in the constitutions of many of our states, though this is not necessary, for it is rooted deeply in the common law.

Thus, when private negotiation fails, public authority intervenes in the spirit of justice, bringing about a final (conclusive) settlement, because it is a just settlement. It is reached in the spirit of impartiality and

justice, by authorities constituted in the interest of the common good.

The result is a conclusive peace between A and B. Friendly relations are usually resumed. But if either party should show an arrogant and intolerant spirit concerning the matter, the local public opinion is always against him, and he finds little, if any, encouragement in his attitude. If his opposition should assume the phase of belligerency, other authorities will intervene in the interest of law and order, and the disturber will find that the public interest is paramount to the indulgence of his arrogant notions, which are imbedded in selfishness and in opposition to constituted and enlightened authority.

* * * * *

In the light of the above briefly stated problem and its solution, let us look at the map of Europe. We see that some nations are more or less completely shut off from access to the world's highway, the open sea. The most cursory examination of history shows that obstruction from access to the sea has been a prolific cause of wars. We can easily see that peace between nations situated relatively as are the lands of A and B

in the above diagram, cannot be conclusive until the B nations get access to the sea on terms that are just to both the A and B nations. The age-long struggle for ports will continue until some such adjustment is made as has always been made by the civil authorities, doubtless of every nation, between private parties similarly situated. The Colorado Constitution (Art. II, Sec. 14) uses the expression, "private ways of necessity," and provides for them. No peace can be conclusive between and among the nations of Europe, or of the world, until public European or world law shall provide for the establishment of *public* "ways of necessity" that will give egress to land-bound nations.

Germany has unjustly been kept back from the Atlantic. Russia's long desire for ice-free ports and for freedom of passage to and from the Black Sea is entirely natural and just. Certain of the Balkan states have been grievously oppressed by denial of access to the world markets. These conditions can never make for peace. No conclusive peace is possible in Europe so long as these conditions exist.

SALONIKA AS AN ILLUSTRATION

Let the following little scrap of recent history throw a light upon the entire European problem: Before the recent Balkan wars Salonika was a Turkish port, being the gateway between the (then Turkish) rich Macedonian plains and the outer world. Since it became a Greek port, the Macedonian trade (now Serbian and Bulgarian) going either in or out has to pay a Greek tax. In order to avoid this wholly unnecessary and unjust Greek tax, the little port of Dedeagatch, on the (now) Bulgarian coast is receiving the Bulgarian portion of this trade, and a new town is growing up in the swamps around this little port. Thus natural and established trade routes to the superior port are abandoned by this trade, which is diverted to the inferior port in order to reach the Aegean Sea without suffering a burdensome and unnecessary tax. If this trade could be sent *in bond* from its source through the territory which has become Greek, to Salonika, which has become Greek, and be placed on board a vessel for export without being burdened by a Greek tax, Greece would lose nothing; for the products, not being distributed in Greece,

would not come into competition with Greek products, and the patronage to the Greek railroads and to the shipping facilities in Salonika would be an advantage to Greek interests. As it is, Salonika is doomed to lose much of its former prosperity, and the trade suffers by being diverted over less advantageous routes to an inferior port, which is being artificially built up.

Greece has become A, projecting itself between B (Macedonia) and the highway, the sea. There being no international commissioners or other authoritative body to determine terms and conditions of travel and traffic in the interest of both A and B, and of interests as far reaching as the trade may extend, all these interests have to be sacrificed to the short-sighted and mistaken selfishness of the Greeks, and the interests of the Greeks and all others concerned suffer. There will always be irritation between any A and B thus situated, until the true community of interests is recognized and intelligently provided for.

* * * * *

Let us look at the map of Europe again. We see many A's and B's, though all cannot

be set forth as simply and clearly as in the above diagram. We find in recent history, which has not attracted wide attention because it is not dramatic, that by treaty, a very intelligent arrangement has been made by which German traffic can pass through Holland, both outbound and inbound, without being burdened by any customs tariffs or other taxes by Holland. So far, so good. Both are benefited by this arrangement, and distant people reached by this German trade are also benefited. But without going into details, suffice it to say that the arrangements are not as impartially just as are always made by impartial authorities between A and B in the first illustration above given. A always occupies a strategic position, and it is difficult for him to be entirely just to B and to the community in general. An arbitration body will nearly always assess the "damages" (really the yielding of his strategic position) to A at a less amount than A wishes to demand. So, even though the arrangement just referred to between Germany and Holland is workable, which is decidedly in the direction of intelligent co-operation between these two nations, Hol-

land, as the A party, has not sufficiently yielded its strategic advantage to satisfy exact justice, and it is said that as a result certain shrewd old Dutchmen are "getting rich by sitting still."

Also an enlightened arrangement has been made between Germany and Belgium for German goods going through Belgian territory, chiefly to Antwerp, and hence to the sea (in time of peace). But we can be equally sure that Belgium, another A party, still holds at least a remnant of the strategic advantage, and that Germany (B) has not as good a bargain as an impartial commission would give. Such a commission would establish terms and conditions of traffic that would open many French ports also to German traffic, to the great advantage both to German trade and to the French ports.

Look at the map of Europe, and study the history of Europe, and see to what extent the A (coast) nations have short-sightedly disregarded their own interests in order to cripple their neighbors' interests by keeping back the trade of the B (blocked from the coast) nations.

Italy has one full side of the Adriatic Sea.

She wants the other side, also, thus making the Adriatic practically an Italian lake, without regard to the interests of the Austrian and Balkan hinterland!

The Russian bear, the greatest and largest sufferer of all, being restrained by the highest "civilization" of Europe from his natural outlets, has stretched his giant limbs in every other direction, usually to find ice or artificial obstructions.

Can the intelligence of Europe expect, or even hope for, a *conclusive* peace without providing for the adjustment of these A and B relations? A method should be devised by which impartial intelligence shall establish relations between and among the A (coast) nations and the B (blocked from the coast) nations, by which all trade may move, unobstructed, to any desired port, without artificial burdens.

In the very nature of things, peace cannot be permanent so long as any nation or any people is artificially forbidden access to, or is artificially obstructed or burdened in its course to, the great highway of the world, the open sea, and hence to the markets of the world. The right to trade is a primary

right. Men have always fought for it when necessary, and they will fight for it as long as it is necessary. No community can be "bottled up" and remain at peace with its bottlers.

It is not here contended that all customs duties shall be abolished and that universal free trade shall be established. Such a thing is chimerical at the present time. Whatever may be in store in the distant future, too much emphasis cannot be put upon the fact that the proposal here made is *not* a free trade proposition. It is not proposed to disturb or in the least degree interfere with internal customs arrangements. Any nation has a right to put whatever burdens it wishes upon foreign goods *distributed* within its borders. But the case is very different with foreign goods which pass through an intervening country on its way to markets beyond, usually to a port for exportation upon the great world highway, the sea. A nation may obstruct and embarrass its own foreign trade as much as it desires so to do. But no nation should have a right, because of its geographical position, to artificially obstruct the foreign trade of any other nation.

A PROPOSED METHOD

A European Commerce Commission should be created, with authority to establish terms and conditions upon which the trade of an interior nation may cross any intervening nation on its way to a market in some other nation or on its way to a port by which it may reach the open sea. It should be the duty of such commission to manage and control such trade, to the end that no trade shall suffer any artificial disadvantage or burden because of foreign territory intervening between it and any foreign market or any port upon the sea.

Now let the reader look at a map of the United States of America. Many of the states are land-locked, but none of them are struggling for ports upon the sea. The reason is that the forty-eight states are federated into one general government, and fortunately the Constitution under which they were federated granted free trade among all the constituent states. So there are no custom houses in any of our states to interfere with interstate traffic. Our custom houses are at the national borders, and they are concerned only with trade with foreign countries. How-

ever, for convenience, many importations are not interfered with in detail at the entrances of the country. If they are destined to internal points, they are continued *in bond* to or near the point of distribution (inland), where the goods are examined in detail, the duties there assessed, and the goods are there set free upon payment of the duties.

By means of this simple and well established principle, under competent authority, the trade of every country in Europe could be conducted to its point of distribution, or to a port for export upon the sea, without suffering any artificial burdens en route, the country of final distribution determining for itself any tax burdens it may wish to impose.

The nations of Europe have always been mutually suspicious armed camps, and at the present time (June, 1916) and since August, 1914, a majority of them have been engaged in the greatest and most horrible war ever known. Is it strange that constant antagonisms and mutual suspicions should occasionally break out into armed conflict? Can any peace among nations so situated become conclusive without changing the antagonisms into harmonies and the suspicions into confi-

dences? But how can such a revolution in their mutual attitude be accomplished? Certainly not by continuing the age-long arbitrary obstruction to and embarrassment of such a primary right as access to the sea for the purpose of world trade. As long as strategically located nations (A nations) have the power to do this, there cannot be harmony between the obstructing and the obstructed nations. This truth is axiomatic.

It is equally axiomatic to say, remove artificial obstructions to trade imposed by coast nations upon interior nations, and activities will begin, from which will spring harmony and mutual confidence.

Sweden fears and is suspicious of Russia, because Sweden lies between Russia and the Atlantic; and they stand there like two primitive men, weapons in hand, not realizing that intelligent co-operation would satisfy both without endangering either. Serbia as at present constituted wants "a window" on the Adriatic and one on the Aegean. A commerce commission working in the interest of Serbia and of all her neighbors would open all the available windows on both seas to Serbia, and by so doing Serbia and all her

neighbors would be benefited; and the feeling between Serbia and her neighbors would grow ever more friendly and mutually dependent, and belligerency would be forgotten.

Still keeping in mind a map of Europe, we see that the trade of Austria-Hungary and possibly of southern Germany, which would naturally flow to the Adriatic for an outlet, should be allowed to go impartially to either Austrian or Italian ports without any artificial burden. This could easily be managed under the authority and control of a suitably authorized commerce commission, and then all the bickerings and contentions concerning coast territory would cease. "Italia Irridentia" would lose most of its significance. All the trade that would be benefited by an unobstructed Adriatic outlet would flow impartially to Italian or Austrian ports, benefiting the ports in its passage. Soon there would be competition among the ports for the trade, each endeavoring to supply the best facilities, thus attracting trade. Under the management and control of an impartial commission, trade would not consider the nationality of a port. It would only consider facilities, accommodations, etc. It

would go to the port that it could reach the least expensively and the most expeditiously, if that port could offer as good and as cheap facilities for handling and export. In other words, the removal of all political obstructions and embarrassments would leave the ports in full and free competition for the trade. Thus the best and cheapest routes and the most advantageous ports would, properly, serve the major portion of the trade.

Under such intelligent, beneficent and mutually advantageous management of European trade, "national aspirations" would not include the desire to capture and control ports. Indeed, the legitimate "national aspirations" would be satisfied, except those various aspirations that can be placed under the head of "culture"; and these do not need military "blare and strut." All legitimate and commendable culture can be attained better without military diversions and burdens than with them.

CHAPTER II

A European Commerce Commission with Plenary Powers Over All Transportation Facilities Would Give the Desired Outlets to the Sea.—Can Such a Commission Be Established?—A Study of the International Congresses of a Century Ago Gives Answer.

This question will be regarded hopelessly by many, and doubtfully by those who are willing to look upon the question with possible hope. In searching for a reply to this question, let us look into the history of Europe. Unfortunately, the larger part of the history of this group of nations, in their relations both with one another and with the rest of the world, is military; and military history does not interest us here. For the answer to our question we must look into the diplomatic history of Europe.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

The first of the great international treaties was the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, at the

CHAP. II] *European Commerce Commission*

close of the Thirty Years' War. It consisted of two documents: the Osnabruck document and the Munster document. Let us picture to our minds the relatively low state of civilization at that period, and then look at a few of the "high lights" in the documents produced by contending forces and opposing interests in that benighted time. Naturally, the settlements were chiefly territorial and dynastic. But a few expressions show that all was not mental darkness. Here are a few expressions taken from the Osnabruck document:*

ARTICLE I. "There shall be a Christian, universal and perpetual peace and a real and sincere friendship between," etc., etc.

ARTICLE II. General amnesty on both sides. All insults and outrages, damages and expenses, caused during the war in word, writing, or deed, shall be forgotten without respect to persons.

ARTICLE III. First, In consequence of this amnesty all estates of the realm, electors, princes, knights, citizens, and subjects, shall be reinstated in their possessions as they stood before the outbreak of the war. . . . Second, This reinstatement is to be

*These documents are given rather fully in the "Historians' History of the World," vol. xv, pages 583 et seq.

A Conclusive Peace [CHAP. II

understood in the sense that no one is to suffer any infringement of his rights.

ARTICLE IV. Section 55. In private summons the Protestants in Austria shall receive the same justice as Catholics.

ARTICLE V. In all else a complete mutual equality shall exist between the electors, princes, and estates of both confessions; what is right for one side shall be right for the other. All acts of violence between both sides shall cease and are forbidden.

ARTICLE IX. First, The tolls and duties imposed during the war shall be removed, and the former freedom of commerce shall be re-established.

ARTICLE XV. Section 11. Upon leaving those places it shall take nothing which it did not bring into them.

And the following, from the Munster document:

ARTICLE I. This Christian, universal, and perpetual peace between, etc. . . . Section 4. The dispute concerning Lorraine shall be settled by friendly negotiation. . . . Section 6. Those persons who think they have any cause for complaint concerning their reinstatement in their possessions may bring the same before a regular judge, after the restitution has taken place. . . . Section 85. *Commerce and navigation shall be free between the inhabitants on both sides of the Rhine.** . . . Section 112. The peace shall be a universally binding law of the realm.

*Italics ours.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Let us now take a long jump, historically, to the Congress of Vienna, beginning late in September, 1814, and continuing till June 9, 1815—nine days before the battle of Waterloo. We could dwell long on the crudities of civilization at that time. The reader must think of a Europe not only without railroads, but almost without public roads of any kind, and those few of the poorest sort, and bridges over streams must have been very rare. Indeed, it is difficult to understand at the present time how the great distances were successfully overcome in that crude age. Yet there were present the crowned heads of Austria, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and many minor states. And among the delegates were some of the foremost diplomats in the world's history: Talleyrand, Metternich, Castlereagh, von Humboldt, Hardenberg and Nesselrode. But there were no stenographers, typewriters, telephones, telegraphs, daily press, etc.

Yet, in spite of the physical limitations of that period, and of the intellectual and moral crudities indicated by Hardenberg's bitter characterization of the gathering as an

“auction of nations and an orgy of kings,” that Congress *laid the foundation of international peace in Europe for forty years.*

An examination of the text of the treaty resulting from the labors of this Congress, with the early date of the document in mind, and then considering the frightful chaos existing in Europe at the present writing (June, 1916), one is both startled and gratified by evidence of broad and liberal thought a century ago. The settlements, as in the case of the Westphalian peace, were chiefly territorial and dynastic; but the following provisions of a few of the articles show that there was a breadth and liberality of thought from which the present Europe might well take a hint.

ARTICLE XI. General amnesty.

ARTICLE XLVI. Its institutions shall be founded upon the principle of a perfect equality of rights for the different sects of the Christian religion. This equality of rights shall extend to all civil and political rights, and shall be observed in all matters of government and administration.

ARTICLE LXIII. The confederation states engage, in the same manner, not to make war against each other, on any pretext, nor to pursue their differences by force of arms, but to submit them to the diet,

CHAP. II] *European Commerce Commission*

which will attempt a mediation by means of a commission. If this should not succeed, and a juridical sentence becomes necessary, recourse shall be had to a well-organized austregal court (*Austrägalinstanz*), to the decision of which the contending parties are to submit without appeal.

ARTICLE LXXVII. Provisions for the guarantee of the religious, political, and civic rights of the above (Article LXXVI) annexed districts.

ARTICLE XCVI. The general principles adopted by the Congress at Vienna for the navigation of rivers shall be applicable to that of the Po.

CONTROL OF NAVIGATION OF INTERNATIONAL RIVERS BY AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

Particularly will Articles 108 to and including 117 of the general document impress the reader with surprise that such constructive statesmanship existed at that time. Let us look at these ten articles (concerning the navigation of international rivers) as given in Sir E. Herstlet's "Map of Europe by Treaty":

ARTICLE CVIII. The powers whose states are separated or crossed by the same navigable river engage to regulate by common consent all that regards its navigation. For this purpose they will name commissioners, who shall assemble, at the latest, within

six months after the termination of the congress, and who shall adopt, as the bases of their proceedings, the principles established by the following Articles.

ARTICLE CIX. The navigation of the rivers along their whole course, referred to in the preceding article, from the point where each of them becomes navigable to its mouth, shall be entirely free, and shall not, in respect to commerce, be prohibited to any one; it being understood that the regulations established with regard to the police of this navigation shall be respected, as they will be framed alike for all, and as favorable as possible to the commerce of all nations.

ARTICLE CX. The system that shall be established both for the collection of the duties and for the maintenance of the police shall be, as nearly as possible, the same along the whole course of the river, and shall also extend, unless particular circumstances prevent it, to those of its branches and junctions which in their navigable course separate or traverse different states.

ARTICLE CXI. The duties on navigation shall be regulated in a uniform and settled manner, and with as little reference as possible to the different quality of the merchandise, in order that a minute examination of the cargo may be rendered unnecessary, except with a view to prevent fraud and evasion. The amount of the duties, which shall in no case exceed those now paid, shall be determined by local circumstances, which scarcely allow of a general rule in this respect. The tariff shall, however, be prepared

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in such a manner as to encourage commerce by facilitating navigation; for which purpose the duties established upon the Rhine, and now in force on that river, may serve as an approximating rule for its construction. The tariff once settled, no increase shall take place therein, except by common consent of the states bordering on the rivers; nor shall navigation be burdened with any other duties than those fixed in the regulation.

ARTICLE CXII. The offices for the collection of the duties, the number of which shall be reduced as much as possible, shall be determined upon in the above regulation, and no change shall afterwards be made but by common consent, unless any of the states bordering on the rivers shall wish to diminish the number of those which exclusively belong to the same.

ARTICLE CXIII. Each state bordering on the rivers is to be at the expense of keeping in good repair the towing-paths which pass through its territory, and of maintaining the necessary works through the same extent in the channels of the river, in order that no obstacle may be experienced to the navigation. The intended regulation shall determine the manner in which the states bordering on the rivers are to participate in these latter works, where the opposite banks belong to different governments.

ARTICLE CXIV. There shall nowhere be established storehouse, port or forced harbor duties. Those already existing shall be preserved for such time only as states bordering on rivers (without regard to the local interest of the place or country where they are

established) shall find them necessary or useful to navigation and commerce in general.

ARTICLE CXV. The custom-houses belonging to the states bordering on rivers shall not interfere in the duties of navigation. Regulations shall be established to prevent officers of the customs, in the exercise of their functions, throwing obstacles in the way of navigation; but care shall be taken, by means of a strict police on the bank, to preclude every attempt of the inhabitants to smuggle goods through the medium of boatmen.

ARTICLE CXVI. Everything expressed in the preceding articles shall be settled by a general arrangement in which there shall also be comprised whatever may need ulterior determination. The arrangement once settled shall not be changed but by and with the consent of all the states bordering on rivers, and they shall take care to provide for its execution with due regard to circumstances and locality.

ARTICLE CXVII. The particular regulations relative to the navigation of the Rhine, Neckar, the Main, the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Schelde, such as they are annexed to the present act, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted herein.

A study of these articles, and indeed of the entire treaty, is highly worth while at this time. Such a study suggests the vital question: If Europe could exhibit so broad and liberal a statesmanship a century ago, why

should not the intervening century, so full of progress in all the other essentials of civilization, have produced a statesmanship that would have bound the nations of Europe, through their mutual interests, so closely together that the war of 1914 would not have been possible? This question may be pondered long, but in vain. The guns of 1914, 1915, 1916—have given a frightful demonstration that statesmanship and diplomacy were impotent in 1914. That impotence was a result of separate and selfish national development, and the absence of international understandings and co-operation.

Can a European commerce commission be established? This question will test the wisdom of the statesmanship of Europe in the near future. It will test the *wisdom*, not the "brilliancy" of the present European statesmanship, unless brilliancy is measured by wisdom.

If the central powers win this war, there will be a closer organization between Germany, Austria, Turkey and some if not all the Balkan states than ever existed before. If the Allies win this war, they will doubtless maintain an organized union for obvious

reasons. But a complete victory of either side is not necessary for the future good of Europe. Indeed both could quit now (June, 1916) with profit and advantage to each side, to all Europe and to all the rest of the world, if they would only provide for the simplest beginnings in the organization of Europe. In the absence of such a compromise, we may at least assume that at the peace table one side or the other will be sufficiently strong to dominate the other side for the establishment of peace on acceptable terms, though the acceptance may be neither willing nor palatable. Possibly both sides may have to accept unpalatable terms—certainly there have been myriads of unpalatable things in this war.

Whatever the result of the war, there will certainly be more extensive and more close organization and co-operation among at least certain of the nations of Europe than ever before. Will Europe be organized into two opposing camps of approximately equal strength? We hope not. But if so, both organizations will make overtures to the present neutral nations, and the balance will be likely to be broken by the adherence of the

greatest number or the strongest of the neutral powers to one side or the other.

The issue of war is uncertain at this writing. Possibly many months or some years of fighting may intervene before any serious mutual attempt is made toward rational settlement. We remember that many wars in the past have been of long duration. Fighting men have no time or opportunity to consider anything except how to injure the enemy. If we could get them face to face around a peace table we could appeal to their larger interests, which are mutual. But both sides say they are not yet ready for that, and until such time we neutrals must sit helpless and horrified.

But the time will come. And let us hope that it may be hastened by the contemplation of an organized and warless Europe. In some way let us evolve from the peace table an organization of at least *some* of the nations of Europe. However this start may be made, one of the early things that this international body, whether it shall represent the whole or a part of Europe, will do will be to provide for the commercial interests of its constituents. This can best be done by a

commerce commission representing the constituent nations. If a Zolverein among the constituents be not desired, access of the B nations (see diagram at the beginning of this book) to the sea through the most available ports could easily be managed under the authority of this commission by shipping goods *in bond* over the most advantageous routes, no import duties being assessed except by the nation in which the goods are distributed.

If a crude congress meeting in Vienna a century ago could provide for the creation of an international commission under the enlightened terms of sections 108 to 117 of the Treaty of Vienna, then certainly a congress representing the civilization of Europe in the second decade of the twentieth century can create a commission with power and authority to give all the nations represented access to the markets of the world through the best available ports without artificial obstruction or burden. If at the beginning the commission should not represent all the nations of Europe, the advantage enjoyed by those represented would be so obvious that the others would seek representation.

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But let us hope that the Peace Congress will not break up into two antagonistic international organizations, leading to greater competition than ever in military preparation, which would inevitably result in a future war greater than the present one.

The military method of conducting international affairs is crude, archaic and cruel, and is a disastrous failure. It belongs to the rude childhood of the race. Refinement of the weapon from the rudest stone ax to the most complicated and effective machine gun makes no difference in the principle. The method belongs to the savage, and its utter failure in civilized life is now frightfully and tragically demonstrated in Europe.

CHAPTER III

Evolution of an Organ of Co-ordination by which the Nations of Europe May Be Harmonized.—No Enforced Disarmament, and Something Better Than Pacifism.

Beyond doubt, the leading, the most urgent, the most pressing issue facing humanity to-day is the establishment of mutually advantageous co-operation among the national units to take the place of, and to remove the occasion for, the present antagonism.

The vital error of every international congress or convention ever held was that such meetings were not made *regular* for all future time or until superseded by some better international organization to meet at regular intervals, without limit. The Congress of Vienna was followed by other international conventions, as the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, which accomplished some surprising things. It "acted not only as a European representative body, but also as a sort of European Supreme Court, which

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heard appeals and received petitions of all kinds from sovereigns and their subjects alike.”* The object of this conference was to suppress the slave trade and the Barbary pirates, two very proper and important international duties. It did these things and was invoked to do many other things. All matters considered were either settled or postponed.

And this very act of postponing some of the problems should have suggested the importance of establishing future conferences at *regular* intervals. The next year (1819), at Frankfort, there was another meeting, at which many boundaries, and the reversion of Italian duchies, were determined.

There was another convention at Verona in 1822, which broke up without result. This was the last of that remarkable series of solemn meetings of sovereigns and their ministers, which began at Chaumont in 1814, resulting in the treaty of March of that year, followed speedily by the first Peace of Paris, of the same year, both these conventions lead-

*Phillips, in “The Confederation of Europe,” page 189.

ing up to the Congress of Vienna beginning late in September of the same year, terminating June 9th, the following year, 1815.

The military method of conducting international affairs is a crude, childish, barbaric, cruel and disastrous failure. It belongs to the rude childhood of the race. Refinement of the weapons from the rudest stone axe to the most complicated and effective machine gun makes no difference in the principle. The method belongs to the savage, and its utter failure in civilized life is now frightfully and tragically demonstrated in Europe.

REGULAR MEETINGS NECESSARY

A study of the European international diplomacy during the eventful nine years, 1814 to 1822 inclusive, is peculiarly interesting. Stripped of all crudities, imperfections and base motives, and there were many, there is a residue before which we can stand with admiration. The great error was, that the remarkable series of international conventions during those nine years were not continued at regular intervals as a part of the political life of Europe. They were made up of representative personalities—those in

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authority; and political authority is what counts in the lives of nations. Even if an occasional session should have broken up without result, as did the one at Verona in 1822, the broken threads could have been taken up with greater intelligence by the next Congress, if the agreement had been made that such a congress should convene regularly every one, two or three years. Then the disagreements would simply have been postponed, to be taken up with increased information and ability for action at the next regular meeting. This would have prevented war by making peaceful settlements possible; whereas a complete cessation of peaceful methods always invites resort to arms.

Suppose our United States Congress had no regular time for meeting. Suppose it should never meet except at the special invitation or instigation of some state; and that meetings, in fact, would not be held except at long and irregular intervals of ten, twenty or forty years! And that at the close of each meeting, nobody would know when, if ever, Congress would meet again! Imagine, if you can, the condition of interstate (na-

tional) business. Imagine the relations of the states. Could peace, amity and mutually helpful co-operation among the states be maintained in that way?

Suppose we should expect to maintain relations among the states during the intervals of an indeterminate number of years by each state sending an ambassador to the capital of every other state! Forty-seven "foreign" state ambassadors at the capital of every state! What would you think of that plan as a substitute for the annual sessions of Congress? How do you think it would work? That is the plan that has always been practiced by the group of "states" covering the continent of Europe. And the result is the saddest and most tragic condition that ever existed in the history of the world—trenches stretching from the Belgian coast to the Swiss border, and from the Baltic to the Hungarian border—hundreds and hundreds of miles! Nothing like the present condition in Europe was ever dreamed of before. Battles formerly lasted a day; sometimes they would extend into the second day, and on rare occasions into the third day. Now they last for weeks and months! Militarism has

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gone to its uttermost extreme, and it cannot bring peace to Europe. If one side could overwhelm the other, militarism could thus bring a military peace; but no such peace has ever been conclusive.

Instead of the history of Europe, say since 1822, which has resulted as we so well know at this writing (June, 1916), let us try to picture a Europe with continuous international congresses similar to the Congress of Vienna or the one at Aix-la-Chappelle, in 1818, at regular intervals, say of every three years. The regularity of them would have attracted the intelligent attention of Europe to them as a regular institution. Nations not represented in the early ones would have sought entrance. The organization would have been progressively improved, and the representation due to each constituent nation would have become regulated. Authority would have increased with the years of blessed experience in the substitution of intelligent and peaceful international relations for the brutalities of war.

It must be plain to any mind that the relations of states, to be harmonious, must be guided by a representative body through

which mutual understandings and agreements can be reached. And as interchanges of every kind between and among the people of all civilized states have become numerous and constant, problems concerning the political and other relations between and among the states themselves are numerous and constant. Hence an international body dealing with these problems must be a permanent institution with regular sittings at intervals not too infrequent. The intervals should not be greater than three years, and probably less. The national parliaments meet every year, and there is no desire to make their meetings less frequent.

BILLIONS FOR WAR AND NOT A DOLLAR FOR Co-OPERATION

Suppose a proposition were made to disband all national parliaments for ten years! Just think of such a proposition. And then think of the surprising fact that no international parliament has ever been created. And think of the distressing fact that not a dollar of public funds has ever been appropriated for the purpose of creating and establishing such a body, while there has

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been no end to the millions and billions appropriated and spent for war among states whose true interest is peaceful and intelligent co-operation.

Just stop and think.

Think of the quality of the statesmanship that has ruled Europe and the world during the past century. Think of the "specialists in statecraft" kept upon thrones. Think of "great" prime ministers, foreign secretaries and diplomats. Think of all these specially selected minds, supposed to be bright, able, trained and wise, given every facility and practically unlimited power and funds. Think of them preparing for the mutual destruction of states instead of the mutual upbuilding of states! Think of them neglecting the first principle of civilization: intelligent co-operation for mutual safety and well being. Think of them holding the peoples of the world back in the tiger and hyena stage of civilization!!

Better intelligence could come out of the trenches now stretched from one end of Europe to the other. Wiser guidance could come from the humble firesides of Europe. The blood of the people of Europe, shed so lavishly since August, 1914, because of the

tragic folly of their leaders (drivers), should so seal together the people of Europe that they will henceforth be a brotherhood. They know by the horrors since August, 1914, that the leadership of those whom they trusted with their major interests, their all, has been immeasurably stupid. Nothing could have been worse. Anything different would have been better.

When the time comes that the soldiers of Europe shall march from the trenches back to their saddened homes, it should be with a firm resolve that they will no longer accept the *worst possible* leadership and endure the horrible consequences. The interests of those pitted against one another in the trenches are not antagonistic nor dissimilar. There is no reason under the canopy of heaven why they should strive to kill one another. There is every reason why they should not do so; why they should not have been called to the trenches; why they should have been permitted to stay at their homes in happiness and safety.

Will an intelligence be developed by this war, either in the trenches, at saddened family altars, or in the chancellories, that will

lead to safe and wise organization of the forces and interests involved, instead of to a repetition of the destructive anarchy reigning since 1914? If not, civilization should bury its vaunted egotism and return to the caves of pre-historic man. They are much better than the trenches.

ALL EUROPE GUILTY

There was only one cause of this war, and all Europe was guilty—every nation in Europe was guilty. This cause was, that the nations of Europe had no international organization; no clearing house of mutual interests; no authorized body which could manage, adjust, negotiate, compromise, guide and direct mutual affairs in the interest of all. Organization within national boundaries was perfected to an amazing and in some respects to a frightful degree. Outside of national boundaries there was no organization at all! The outside interests and relations had been growing with increasing and tremendous strides for a century; yet there was no organization to take care of them—no authority to deal with them. Is it any wonder that governments ran wild? Per-

fect *intranational* organization, particularly of the destructive agencies; no *international* organization at all, the only thing that could possibly prevent a clashing of the carefully prepared units remaining dangerously selfish and "independent"—a selfishness and "independence" sublimely stupid.

Any international body could manage international affairs better than none. It need not be a perfect body. However, the lodging of large and vital interests in its authority would place it so prominently and conspicuously before the eyes of the world that the best human material would be called to its ranks, and the highest wisdom and justice would be expected and demanded of it.

There have been many international bodies that have exercised, benignly, large authority; for example most of the congresses that met and did important international business between 1814 and 1822 and since. Any one of these could have said: "*Henceforth this Congress shall meet annually* (or biennially, or triennially)." These six words would have saved Europe. There will be another opportunity, a supreme opportunity, at the peace table when this war

closes. Will this body speak these words? If so, the organization and peace of Europe and of the world will be assured; if not, international anarchy with consequent wars will continue until the above indicated simple and easy standard of international intelligence is reached.

LET US HAVE A BEGINNING

It is not necessary nor possible that a complete international government be organized at once. The constitutional convention that met in Philadelphia, U. S. A., in 1787, need not be taken as a model. A much simpler beginning would suffice—just so it is a *beginning*. The vital thing in the beginning would be the provision that *some* international body clothed with proper authority from its constituent nations *shall meet at regular intervals*, not less frequently than every three years, to consider, discuss and decide international matters that come before it.

However imperfect this beginning, persistence would lead to gradual development in ways that we may not and need not foresee at the present time. Need not wait even for all nations, even of Europe, to come in on

this simple and imperfect basis. Enough of the nations of Europe to dominate Europe, with the door always open for the rest, would make a successful beginning. Once begun, with regular meetings assured, even though failures and break-ups like that at Verona in 1822 should occasionally occur, civilization would begin a new era. World politics would take on a new meaning.

If the peace congress that must necessarily be called at the close of this war, will continue itself as a regular institution to meet at regular intervals henceforth, either annually, biennially or triennially, or give authority for some other official international body to so meet, the beginning of this new era in world politics will be accomplished. This body may be confined to European nations—that portion of the civilized world in which independent nationalities are crowded together as close neighbors, the people speaking different languages, having different histories and traditions, and with *supposedly* different interests. It may be confined even to only a portion of the European nations. Rarely if ever has a European congress included *all* the nations of Europe.

What we are pleading for is a *beginning*, however crude and incomplete, with the understanding that the institution is to *continue* henceforth. The future will lead to improvement in organization and enlargement of the body so as to include more nations—ultimately perhaps all.

A CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

If, fifty years ago, some European government had called a convention or conference of all the secretaries of state for foreign affairs, and if that conference had agreed to meet annually to discuss frankly the foreign affairs of every European government, all being there represented, would not that have led to a peaceful adjustment of all such affairs from that time to now, and would any war have occurred in Europe? If that same thing had been done twenty-five years ago, or fifteen, or ten years ago, would any European war have occurred in that time? The answer is, no. This would seem to be a simple and easy way to create a body for the discussion and adjustment of the external affairs of the nations of Europe, and if such a body is not otherwise created after this war and as a

result of it, this way will be constantly open.

Many have looked, and still look, to the Hague conferences as this savior of Europe. These conferences have been admirable, but distressingly limited in their authority. Political authority is a *sine qua non* for the success of the undertaking that we are considering. All the congresses on earth, and they have been many, repeated *ad infinitum*, will not be successful without political authority. The Interparliamentary Union is composed of distinguished statesmen and has met frequently. But having no political status nor authority, it is impotent except as an educational institution. There are many other international organizations, scientific, industrial, sociological, etc., but as there was *no international political authority*, in 1914 we saw all these international structures of every kind fall to pieces before the political authority and military power of nations. Even international peace societies in the act of convening in 1914 had to hastily adjourn or be postponed and their members had to hurry to places of safety.

A political authority superior to that of any nation must be constructed. Until that

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is done, the political authority and power of separate European nations will remain supreme, each in its own realm, and likely to break over its boundaries and flood adjoining nations with destruction, as in 1914. Separate military armaments have proven to be futile during these nearly two years of horrors. But separate nationalities will do no better until they learn that there is a better way; and that this better way will render all the paraphernalia of war unnecessary. When a tadpole inwardly feels frog-like aspirations, he also feels the presence of two hind legs struggling to be free. When the hind legs become free he finds that he has no further use for a tail, so he drops it. Thus will the paraphernalia of war be dropped by the nations of Europe when they find something better.

So it is useless to talk of limitation of armaments. The entire subject of armaments will be automatically left in the rear, as the intelligence of Europe learns the lesson of co-ordination for the general good.

We will not burden these pages with the familiar references to the Swiss federation, the Germanic federation, the United States

of America, etc. These are all well known. Their success is amply demonstrated. Everybody knows that there are no competitive armaments among the components of any of these federations of states. Everybody also knows that there is competition in armaments among the nations of Europe, and that this competition will be unlimited until Europe applies the *only remedy*.

How much longer will we hear "pacifists" talk of reduction of armaments? Competition in armaments is natural and necessary as long as the external interests of the nations of Europe are on a competitive basis. Nations cannot be "pacified." They must be *satisfied*. May we not hope that the word "pacifism" will pass from every language? There is no occasion for it, and it may be used in a misleading way. The writer here avows that he is not, has never been and never will be a pacifist. He is a *constructivist*, or *constructionist*; a believer in *constructive* international policies. As long as the present absence of machinery for international co-ordination exists, war will exist. The construction and use of the proper machinery is the only remedy for war, and hence

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the only remedy for competitive armaments.

The construction most needed now, the construction which now would be like both manna and the white dove to the nations of Europe, the construction for which the intelligence and the heart of humanity yearn most, is simply the establishment in Europe of a body representing all the nations of Europe, a body that will become a permanent institution in the political life of Europe, clothed with political authority to constructively co-ordinate all the affairs of every nation in Europe that are external to such nation. Thus will the nations of Europe be, not "pacified" like a babe in arms, but *satisfied* by a square deal to all in the interest of all. We speak now of Europe only, because that is our subject, and the problem of Europe is now the problem of humanity. Humanity has also a larger problem, but of that another time. That will also require *constructivism*, and not "pacifism."

A CO-ORDINATING ORGAN NEEDED

A certain portion of the brain of a bird can be removed which will leave no function of the bird impaired except the power of co-

ordination. He can move his wings, feet and tail as freely as ever, but he cannot co-ordinate them to the accomplishment of a purpose. He has lost that portion of the brain which presides over co-ordination of the voluntary muscular system. He cannot fly because he cannot co-ordinate the motions of his wings and tail, and hence his efforts fail. When he attempts to walk, he staggers and falls. If his wings, feet and tail could fight, they would doubtless fight one another, as do the unco-ordinated nations of Europe. Supply the co-ordinating function to Europe, and the nations of Europe will move along harmoniously and happily, like the flight of a bird.

Let us project our minds into the future, not the distant future we hope, and vision a European congress at its first meeting. However imperfect and unsatisfactory the representation of the different states may be, let us hail it for what it may then be, and for what it may become. An effort in the right direction, even though it be crude, should be welcome. Its worthiness will be tested by its efforts to perfect itself. Its success in making itself acceptable to Europe and to the

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world in general, or in proposing a means by which it or some succeeding body authorized to manage the major affairs of Europe may become acceptable to Europe and to the world, will determine the future of civilization.

There have been many European congresses with large powers, but they have been temporary, for special purposes, and in them each constituent nation has struggled for selfish advantages to itself, regardless of the effect on other nations, or the general effect on Europe. The saving congress, the European congress which is to redeem Europe, must reverse most of the motives and aims of past congresses.

First, it must be *permanent*. It must be a body endowed with perpetual life, with regular meetings, every one, two or three years, as may be determined. The intervals should not be longer than three years. The fact that national congresses (parliaments) meet annually suggests that an international congress (parliament) should meet annually.

Second, the purposes should be general, not special. The perpetual purpose of the congress should be the interest of Europe in

general, both immediately and remotely. Its responsibility will be perpetual. If it should be tempted to consider immediate interests to the disregard or sacrifice of remote interests, it must face the responsibility later.

Third, the motives of the congress should be impartial. The seeking of selfish national or racial interests should be rebuked. This self-seeking has been recognized as legitimate in past congresses; in the permanent congress there must be a reversal. The congress must seek to create conditions under which every section of Europe, every nation in Europe, and every race in Europe may work out its destiny according to natural advantages of location, etc., racial adaptabilities, talents, industry, etc., without interfering in the least with the development of other sections, nationalities and races of Europe. Here, indeed, may every race and nationality of Europe find opportunity, frankly and constructively, to seek its "legitimate ambitions," its national or racial "aspirations," and work toward its ultimate destiny.

Note the difference: Heretofore it has been sought to realize these "ambitions," "aspirations," etc., by *disregarding* the

rights, interests and equally legitimate "ambitions" and "aspirations" of other races or nationalities. It must be evident to every mind that every race and every nationality in Europe will have a better chance in a harmonious Europe than in a discordant Europe.

Under the protection of harmoniously co-ordinated interests, no section or race will unjustly suffer, and every section and race will be called to its greatest opportunities. All other protection has broken down. Even the supposedly impregnable fortresses are now deserted in the face of modern ordnance. The soldier can no longer protect. He can only destroy, and he does not destroy enemies of the race, like reptiles, pestiferous insects, etc., but he destroys other soldiers who, under proper international management, would be friends and patrons in a neighbor nation, and not a menace.

When Europe becomes organized under a permanent European congress, the Germans may become more intensely German if they desire, and in perfect safety. This same principle applies, of course, to every other nationality and race in Europe. The Slavs

will no longer be a menace, if they ever were, except to offer something better, if they can, to Scandinavians, Teutons or Latins on the west. The contest, if contest there be, will no longer be in military strength and "preparedness." It will be a civil and smiling contest. No shedding of blood, no bitterness. Each will offer to civilization its best; its best in the utilitarian arts, in music, in literature and the other fine arts. This will be the contest. Then Poland will come back to its own. Every race, whether a nationality or not, may freely indulge its "aspirations." The near east may concentrate and intensify its civilization, or it may invite western institutions to supplement or replace its own. The devotees of every language may cultivate and propagate the language of their choice without restraint, except its propagation be attempted by force. The devotees of every religion may indulge in and propagate the religion of their choice without restraint except its propagation be attempted by force, and except it be deemed by the majority to be a danger to public order and morality.

An artist might indulge his vision indefinitely concerning the possibilities in a Europe

set free from military oppression, in a Europe organized for liberty and development (liberty to develop), and he would always be on solid ground. It would be difficult for an artist to overdraw the picture.

EUROPE UNJUST TO THE BALKANS

The Balkan states have been blamed for being disturbing factors in Europe. This is not true. The truth is that Europe has not given the Balkan states a chance. Europe, representing the supposedly highest intelligence of civilization, has pursued a policy not only unjust and repressive, but a policy supremely stupid toward the Balkan states. When intelligence reigns in Europe, which it must, sometime, if there be a God in Heaven, then the Balkan states will blossom in their own sweet way. And if they should be the wild flowers of Europe for a few generations, many will prefer romantic (and safe) adventure among them to basking in the cultivated gardens of the older civilizations. The point is, that they will be made safe—safe within themselves, safe to one another, and safe to all Europe. And their future will be just what they wish to make it.

The mechanism upon which will rest all this future, which is not at all fantastic, is extremely simple in its chief factors, though the details that it must work out are somewhat complex, and a task which will have no end. Every civilized government is a type which suggests the mechanism. Not that the mechanism must coincide with all the details of any of these types, but it need not be more difficult than any of them. And as all existing governments are planned to continue always, so this one must be planned to serve human interests as long as there are human interests to serve.

The prospective reward of every government ever organized has been internal peace and external protection. This will be the prospective reward of a harmonized Europe, co-ordinated only as regards harmonious management of mutual extra-national affairs; the internal affairs of each nation may become as unique as may be desired. It will be a Europe harmonized regarding common affairs and interests, but diversified regarding everything else. Think of every nation in Europe made absolutely safe from any kind of encroachment from any other nation

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in Europe; and this without the burden of national armies and navies.

The coming peace congress will involve nearly all of Europe. It will be disturbed by animosities; revenges will be considered. Particularly will revenges be acted upon if there shall be a defeat, more or less decisive, of either side. In that event, after the conditions of settlement have been made and accepted, another congress should be called, or a postponed meeting of this congress should be arranged, for harmonizing and constructive purposes. This should be the beginning of the constructive and harmonizing institution which will save Europe, if it shall ever be saved. It can be saved in no other way.

CHAPTER IV

Why a Military Peace Cannot Be Conclusive.

Let us suppose that a peace has been made, dictated chiefly by the central powers. Serbia would be retained, as it lies directly on the way to Turkey. Bulgaria is the remaining link to Turkey, and it is now allied with the central powers. These powers would then hold the east coast of the Adriatic, have access to the Aegean through Bulgaria, and their alliance with Turkey would give them control of the outlet of the Black Sea, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, with access to a vast empire lying east.

A rosy prospect. But would it give a conclusive peace? That is our problem, and our chief interest. It would lock up the vast empire of Russia more firmly than ever. An outlet at the south being impossible except on the terms of Russia's enemies, the Scandinavian peninsula would fear greater pressure than ever, as Archangel is a very unsatisfac-

tory outlet via the Arctic to the Atlantic. Can we imagine a permanent peace with the teeming millions of Russia so locked in? Roumania would be similarly hemmed in and dissatisfied.

The problems to the west would be no nearer solved. Indeed, Holland and what might remain of Belgium and Luxemburg would tremble more than ever for their safety, as would Denmark. And Germany's outlet to the Atlantic would not be improved. Such a peace would produce a worse condition than that which existed in Europe previous to the great war beginning in 1914.

Now let us suppose a peace dictated chiefly by the allies. Would "Italia irridentia" be realized, giving all the Adriatic coast to Italy? If so, all the Austrian world trade which finds a natural outlet and inlet through the Adriatic would be subject to the terms that Italy might impose. This alone would make such a peace inconclusive—unstable. And Germany's outlet to the Atlantic, except through her own North Sea ports, would be only on terms imposed by her enemies. Thus again the condition would be worse than existed in Europe

before the great war beginning in 1914.

Thus any military peace following this war must necessarily be inconclusive, as has always been true of military peace, unless followed by constructive measures that take the place of the military terms and conditions, leading to a mutually advantageous and satisfactory conclusion.

Whatever the terms of the coming peace, whatever hard conditions are imposed by the power that may be able to impose them, a peace imposed by military power cannot be conclusive. As long as rigid military power shall cramp the natural and legitimate development of a people, that people will resist.

It is ably argued by Prof. Irving Fisher, of Yale University, that a decided military victory of either side in this war would be a very unfortunate result, because a distinct military victory would continue the faith of humanity in military power. As long as that faith continues, reliance will be placed in the strongest armaments. He says: "If this war 'settles something' so that somebody is satisfied, that somebody will be satisfied with war as an institution." * * * "If, on the other hand, the conflict ends in a draw

CHAP. IV] *Military Peace Inconclusive*

and the people on both sides become convinced that it has accomplished nothing except the destruction of wealth, the accumulation of debt and the slaughter of the very flower of manhood of Europe, then war itself will be regarded as an accursed institution and there will arise such a popular clamor for future safeguards against war, that any nation may be willing to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to substitute a better method. The great hope of abolishing war is to have a war which is totally unprofitable."

A military victory would lead to a military peace, which is always a temporary peace. Yet a "stale mate" end to the war would only be a military truce, unless the peace table should establish some plan by which the nations of Europe could live together co-operatively for mutual benefit, instead of competitively for mutual hindrance and destruction. Anything that will destroy the popular faith in military power will invite popular attention to something better. Hence a "draw" on the field of battle in Europe, a truce, a peace table surrounded by constructive minds, would give a good pros-

pect for an organized Europe, in which every part of Europe and every people of Europe would have an opportunity to freely develop and contribute its best to civilization. No further waste of energy in preparation for war; no further destruction of war.

It would pay both sides in the contest to stop fighting now, for at least a truce and a conference, during which it would not be difficult to demonstrate the futility of further fighting, and the victory—the eternal victory—that both sides would find in a rational plan of managing the affairs of Europe. Already both sides have lost, miserably lost. How much longer will they continue their mutual defeat? Both sides could yet win by stopping destruction and beginning construction—a construction that would transform Europe into a co-ordinated, harmonious whole.

Whatever penalties may be imposed at the coming peace, that congress will miss its greatest opportunity, and neglect its largest duty, if it should fail to set machinery in motion leading ultimately to a co-ordinated Europe. Every nation in Europe has been injured by the selfish policies heretofore

practiced. One European nation cannot possibly realize its highest possibilities and developments unless its neighbors also may develop their possibilities.

It has been customary for nearly every nation in Europe to restrict its neighbors and neglect the opportunities and the advantages of co-operating with them. At the same time these nations have reached out for distant world trade much less in amount than the opportunities near at home.

Freedom is the broadest possible foundation for every nation to build upon. Nations crowded together think that their freedom stops at their boundary lines, and that their neighbors' freedom stops there too. Hence mutually restrictive measures. Mutual freedom could be given as easily as mutual restriction. Remove the restrictions to trade and intercourse between two neighboring nations, and both will be benefited. If this is true of two neighboring nations in Europe, it will be all the more true of all the nations of Europe. But each is afraid of being incidentally injured.

The thing most feared is the importation of foreign products that will compete injuri-

ously with home products. Remove that danger, and boundary lines would mean much less than they now do.

Here is the important field for the proposed European commerce commission. Such a body with proper authority could open up every trade possibility of every nation in Europe without disturbing the internal industries of any nation, simply by making regulations for shipment of goods *in bond* from any place of origin through any intervening nation or nations, import duties being imposed only at the point of distribution. This simple institution, a European commerce commission, would make the trade of every nation in Europe as free to reach any destination as it could be if it owned every river, railroad and port in the entire continent of Europe.

CHAPTER V

At the Peace Table.

Around the peace table will necessarily be gathered representatives of all the belligerents. This body will have large powers and authority. Its duties will be extensive and difficult. Presumably all its work cannot be completed in one session, even if that session be continued for several months. The Congress of Vienna sat from late September, 1814, until the following June. The readjustments following the activities of Napoleon were accomplished by numerous international congresses extending from 1814 to 1822. The Westphalian peace required five years (1643 to 1648) of negotiation.

The negotiations following this greatest and most extensive of any previous war will not be completed in a short session. A protocol may speedily be reached, doubtless including an armistice, relieving the tension, ameliorating the hard conditions of war and permitting a generous flow of food to the

people and prisoners in the blockaded countries. This blessed taste of peace must certainly lead to continued and finally complete negotiations, for all humanity would revolt at the thought of a return to the hell of war.

Around the peace table will be few if any crowned heads. The peace settlements of history have been largely dynastic. That element will be absent from this settlement. Germany must settle with her Hohenzollerns, Austria with her Hapsburgs, England with her Guelphs, Russia with her Romanoffs, etc. This peace will deal with the peoples involved, with their various interests, etc., but not with the interests of their royal families. Former congresses have settled such important questions as boundaries and other major interests; as this one will. Its members will have large delegated authority from the respective national units. But they will not speak nor act in the general congress as representatives of their respective national units. This they will do in the preliminary conferences or caucuses of their respective allies, but in the general congress they will speak and act according to caucus agreements. There will be two parties at the table, and

only two. In this respect it will be different from past congresses. The caucuses of these two parties will be very important, for in these caucuses will be settled nearly all the questions concerning the minor states, and also the major states; and there the attitude of the two opposing parties will be determined. This two-party composition of the congress will be a regrettable fact, as the stronger party will be tempted to use its power selfishly and intemperately—in the interest of a part rather than of the whole of Europe. We could wish a small body of independent delegates sufficient for a balance of power, to prevent extreme action of major party interests. Will remnants break away from the larger parties and act in this balancing capacity? The ideal balancing representation would be delegates representing the neutral nations of Europe, and possibly including the United States of America. These additions would be admirable contributions toward the completion of the body; they might be expected to add wisdom and justice to the deliberations, and much to the confidence with which the deliberations would be received the world over. It is not at all

certain that the congress would admit, as constituents, any whom they may consider "outsiders"; but there are really no outsiders in Europe, for all the neutrals as well as the belligerents have been profoundly affected by this war, and the decisions of the congress will vitally affect neutrals as well as belligerents. There is every reason why the neutral nations of Europe should have representation. These reasons also apply, with less force, however, to the other nations of the world.

The composition of the Congress of Berlin, so late as 1878, was very deficient in real ability. The delegates were "lordly gentlemen" not prepared for their tasks. It was said that one prominent delegate had "never even seen a map of Asia Minor!" This congress will include men who know geography, ethnology, etc., etc., etc.

FULL PUBLICITY AT PEACE CONFERENCE

Secrecy and intrigue have been prominent features of past international political congresses. In the coming congress the veil of secrecy must be raised, as the civilized world will demand full publicity. And plenty of

suggestions will come from the outside and be published in the newspapers and magazines of the world which the congress *must* give some heed to. The congress will realize that it represents civilization; and that it must work in the interest of civilization, and by methods sanctioned by civilization.

Shall old boundaries be restored? And if so, upon what terms? If not, what new boundaries shall be established? Shall any new states be created? or shall any old states be merged? What autonomies shall be granted? Shall captured colonies be restored? and if so, upon what terms? Shall indemnities be imposed? These will be some of the major problems to be solved. How long will this require? A session of at least many months; or possibly several shorter sessions with some months intervening. This will be a period of vast reconstruction for Europe. It should not be done in haste.

Conceivably, after a long session of many months or several short sessions within a year or more, there will still be many minor matters, or possibly some major matters, that prove to be specially perplexing, to be postponed to a future meeting at a time

agreed upon. A postponed meeting may lead to another, for readjustments of populations and their multifarious interests do not move rapidly. Thus an adjourned or postponed meeting may be needed, say every year for some years, before all the desired adjustments can be accomplished. And thus may be established the annual European or international congress that has so long been needed. And thus may the coming peace congress grow into the permanent political organization that will be the rational constructive institution of Europe, replacing the anarchy of armed camps threatening every national boundary.

It may not come in this way. But if not, it *must* come in some way at some time. Will there ever be a more opportune time than at the close of this war for the establishment of a clearing house for the affairs of Europe or of the world? Then the civilization of nearly all of Europe will be thrown into the melting pot of reorganization and reconstruction. Will this major need, this need so long recognized by the best minds of the world, this need so overwhelmingly important, this need so much greater than anything that can be

thrown upon the peace table, be neglected by the forces of reconstruction both within and outside of the congress?

MACHINERY TO HARMONIZE EUROPE

The decisions of the congress may be unjust. If so, they will be temporary. Injustice is not conclusive. Only justice can be conclusive. A permanent political institution for the purpose of dispensing justice can reach, finally, conclusive decisions. Early efforts may be inconclusive; but the right kind of political machinery, made with deliberate intelligence and not subject to partisan impulse, will lead to conclusive decisions. Such machinery Europe has long needed. This war will be in vain if it does not lead to at least the starting of powerful and intelligent forces, with broad and impartial purposes and liberal motives, toward the establishment of some kind of political machinery that will harmonize Europe. The harmonization may not be sudden, nor at once complete. But complete harmonization and co-ordination must be the ultimate goal. Energies started in this direction will gather force rapidly, as no other political need in the

whole world is so obvious at the present time.

Let the peace table place no obstacles in the way. If revenges must be satisfied or punishments imposed, let them be imposed in a manner in which they will be soonest over, so that there will be no long time or permanent interference with natural and normal commercial and other relations among the nations of Europe. Germany wants to establish trade routes far to the southeast for the benefit of Germany and her allies *only*. The Entente allies are now considering severe restrictions of Germany's trade upon the sea after the war—barring German ships from Entente ports, etc. We here wish to remind both belligerents of the following trade maxim: "Trade reprisal is a gun that will kick as far as it will shoot." This maxim should be well considered at the peace table. It would be absurd to seek trade in distant colonies and refuse trade when it comes to one's own door, even if from a country in disfavor. Its refusal hurts the refuser as much as the refused, and at the same time continues an unfriendly spirit, which should be allowed to die. And amid re-established trade relations, animosities do rapidly disappear.

CHAPTER VI

How the Areas of Peace Have Grown.

The history of civilization has been a battle toward peace. The goal of war has always been peace. Why intelligence has not been called upon instead of war to extend the boundaries of peace is a question unanswered by history. Militarists say that war is human nature. Must we accept this indictment? Is it possible to develop human nature out of the war stage into a stage where wisdom and intelligence shall reign? But peace has always been the first fruit of war, and always will be, even if we never find a better way to find peace. And peace is absolutely necessary, for peace was, is, and always will be the necessary condition for civil and industrial development.

When we look back into history, war seems to be the most conspicuous thing. Battles grow thicker and thicker to the farthest perspective. The early tribes of Europe* were

*The historic outline here given is "diagrammatic," put in this form for brevity and to avoid details of

almost constantly at war, which was their chief occupation. The fighting men and their weapons were the important things. But finally an important lesson was learned. Perhaps by the complete capture, without destruction, of an enemy tribe, it was discovered that amalgamation of the captured tribe with the victorious tribe (instead of killing all the fighting men, or enslaving them) increased the strength of the victorious tribe for both offense and defense. And perhaps about that time, probably stimulated by a capture-amalgamation as just mentioned, came one of those unusual gleams of intelligence that we now call "constructive statesmanship." The success of the tribe strengthened by capture-amalgamation, stimulated an enemy tribe to make overtures (just how no one knows) to a neighbor tribe, either friendly, if there were such things as friendly tribes, or a weaker enemy tribe. Amalgamations increased military strength, and consequently contributed to military success. Single tribes succumbed to amalgamations, or

early European history. The facts, however, in more than one period, fit into the diagram with approximate accuracy.

were driven to make amalgamations with other tribes.

Such amalgamations meant the coalescence of amalgamated tribe territory, and organization for internal peace. Thus the areas of peace grew. These areas of peace have become our present nations, with their internal government for maintaining internal peace, making possible all the institutions of civilization. If it had not been for these constantly growing areas of peace, civilization could never have been.

Thus the troubled flower of nationality bloomed—thus the “map of Europe” was formed. This victory for civilization, this achievement of nationality, is claimed for militarism. They say exultingly, “the strong arm, military valor, the sword, the roar of cannon, the charge of cavalry, the policy of ‘blood and iron’ made all these things possible.” But they forget that the constantly broadening areas of internal peace incidentally produced all the growing paraphernalia of war, without which the doughty warrior would have been well nigh helpless; and at the present time the warrior is entirely dependent on the achievements of civilization for his liv-

ing and his instruments, without either of which he would be nothing. In fact, he is a complete dependent.

Public intelligence grew with the enlarging areas of peace. Local tribes, local intelligence. Amalgamated tribes, amalgamated intelligence. While security was the primary and ostensible object, the supreme purpose, whether conscious or not, was the development of civilization in these constantly enlarging areas of peace.

In the nations thus formed, internally protected by elaborate systems of government, astonishing civilizations arose. The protecting forces of the peace areas (the nations) could offer no better plan for external protection than the old barbarous military plan, and the internal governing forces unfortunately accepted that theory, and created and maintained vast armaments.

FALSE IDEA OF PROTECTION

The theory was that nationality with independent sovereignty was the ultimate step in civilization; and the militarist theory was that a nation, to be safe, must be stronger than any possible or probable enemy nation.

The application of this theory led to an absurdity that, strangely, was not then and is not now recognized. Every nation, to be safe, must be stronger than every other nation, and every alliance of nations must be stronger than any other alliance! Supposedly learned college professors, supposedly wise statesmen and great military leaders and authorities have agreed upon and still act upon this absurdity!

The important things in history have been accomplished within these areas of peace, by industry, art and science. The militarist will claim that these things have been done under the *protection* of the soldier. Protection from internal dangers has come from internal organized government, with which the soldier has nothing to do. And the protection from external dangers that the soldier pretends to give is only a hollow pretense and an utter failure, as the condition of Europe now shows. The soldier has been arrogant and a great burden to the civil population, and he is impotent to give the protection that national civilization needs from the outside.

The soldier cannot give this external protection as he once could. It is now too big a

job for him ; too big for his methods. It must be done by other methods, to which he is a stranger ; by instrumentalities with which he is not familiar. The area or areas of peace must be again extended. These areas in Europe must be again expanded and lessened in number, or become a single area. While the soldier cannot do it, must he, as formerly, create the conditions under which it can or must be done ? The present war in Europe is an apparent affirmative answer to that question.

This is a sad confession. But it does not relieve constructive minds from their task. It only proves that their task will be at hand as soon as the soldier completes his task. And will not a demonstrated readiness for the constructive task shorten the soldier's destructive work ? An invitation to the peace table with the declared willingness to consider *conclusive* terms should be welcomed by either side ; and it would be hailed with joy by the rest of the world. Conclusive terms means terms upon which the areas of peace in Europe would be reduced to a single one. Can any other peace be conclusive ?

If the areas of peace are reduced in number

only to the extent of a future close relation among the components of the present "entente" and "alliance," the present neutrals remaining in their isolation, the soldier will still be retained, for future butchery, and armaments will continue to be increased on land and sea.

War and the preparation for war is the constant price that civilization has always paid for failure to apply the principles of organization used so successfully within areas of peace to the same problem existing *among* the areas of peace—interstate relations. While this war may reduce the number of the areas of peace in Europe by making some new amalgamations, yet such peace will never be conclusive until the *grand amalgamation* occurs.

Let us not be dogmatic and claim that the *grand amalgamation* must include every existing nation in Europe. A fringe of lesser nations remaining out would not defeat the conclusiveness of the peace. Inclusion in the amalgamation of the chief factors of the two belligerent forces now engaged in the most titanic struggle that the world ever saw is absolutely necessary to the conclusiveness of

the peace. The union of at least the chief components of these two giants in the amalgamation is what would make it "grand." This is the only thing that can prevent future wars in Europe. The remaining out of one or more of the present neutral states of Europe or of minor factors of the present belligerents would not seriously threaten the stability of such a combination. But the interests of such states would be better served in the combination. In any event any such outside state or states should be treated with absolute justice; but they should not be permitted to stand in the way of any major interest of Europe or humanity.

Men are selfish. And selfishness is short-sighted. Selfish eyes are blinded to the major benefits that lie beyond the immediate step. That is why this war came instead of a concerted movement for European unity. And what a tragic error! Has it taught the lesson and brought wisdom? It is not that they do not know. Who does not know war defeats all participants? Who does not know that the established principles of national government could be applied to all Europe to the incalculable benefit of Europe and the world?

CHAP. VI] *Growth of Areas of Peace*

What kind of mentality will dominate at the peace table? Will it be blinded by selfishness? Will it be poisoned by revenge? Will it be, can it be, impartial? A disinterested or judicially minded tribunal could be impartial. But this body will consist of frenzied combatants—not good material for a peace congress. As a consequence perhaps the “under dog” will suffer, if there should be an “under dog.”

In any event, after the terms of settlement have been agreed to, or after sufficient agreement has been reached to permit turning from the pressing present to the beckoning and transcendently important future, the supreme crime of the world will be committed *if there is not some provision for the establishment of a body with regular meetings and with authority to consider, discuss and decide matters outside the realm of any present government in Europe.* However inconclusive the coming peace may be, this body will have the power to so serve the interests of all Europe that war on that troubled continent will be no more. The simple act of establishing the above mentioned body will increase the area of peace to the extreme boundaries of Europe.

CHAPTER VII

The Mechanism of Peace.

A European co-ordinating body, whatever it may be called, will grow in authority and efficiency as it grows in the confidence of the nations. The real authority of the Congress of the United States of America is much greater now than when the first Congress met soon after the formation of our Constitution in 1787, though the Constitution itself has not been changed in this respect. The Supreme Court of the United States of America, a novel political creation, was openly defied and its jurisdiction denied. But patience, reason and the rational second thought have resulted in the supreme authority of, and unlimited confidence in this institution. And the American states were as selfish, arrogant and jealous as any of the European states can well be. The former talked loudly of their "vital interests" before they learned that their most vital interests were in harmony with those of the Union.

CHAP. VII] *Mechanism of Peace*

The advantages of internal autonomy combined with external protection and unrestricted trade with all the other states gave all the blessings that a state could desire. Would any state, after enjoying these advantages, think of giving them up? Never.

The mechanism of peace among the American states, though well defined by the Constitution, grew into more and more accurate adjustments, and also into more and more complete confidence. It cannot reasonably be assumed that a European state or super-state can be suddenly and completely erected. It will have to be more subject to growth than was the American Union. In the thirteen original American states there were only about 3,000,000 inhabitants, and the conditions of life were simple in 1776. The population of Europe was about 400,000,000 before this war, and we know the complex conditions of life at this time. So we see the difference in the two problems. But we also see that Europe now has the experience of the American states as a guide, while these states had to work out many of their problems *de novo*. Also many of the instrumentalities of the present civilization, as good roads, rail-

roads, the telegraph, the telephone, rapid printing, etc., etc., will aid much in the establishment and operation of a mechanism planned to co-ordinate the affairs of the nations of Europe outside their respective boundaries.

“MR. EUROPE” TO ORDER A NEW COAT

No rational mind can for a moment doubt the importance, the necessity, of such a mechanism. And “impossible” is not a satisfactory nor a final answer. Think of the talents and the treasure that have been given to developing the mechanism of war. And think of the astonishing results! The mechanism of war has been revolutionized. The old style of warfare melts away in the face of the new mechanism. Peace is incalculably more valuable than war. Then why should not talents and treasure be given to working out to a successful conclusion the mechanism of peace? This mechanism has been already successfully worked out and is in daily operation. These models are well known and open to the world. Any one of these models can easily be adapted to European needs and conditions. Better, however, a new model,

which could easily be drawn especially for European needs and conditions, in the light of the existing successfully operating models. Tailors have made coats for Jones, Brown and Smith, though they differ in size, shape and occupation. Now Mr. Europe needs a coat, and he is a giant who has never had a coat. His requirements are different from all the former customers. Will the tailors shake their heads and say, "impossible"? Certainly not. They will say that they know their trade and can make the coat. But they will ask for a little patience on the part of the gruff and doubting new customer. He will be told that if the coat should bind a little here and there, adjustments can easily be made that will make the garment entirely satisfactory and indispensable.

Perhaps such comparisons are crude and inaccurate; but they carry understanding of a peculiarly fitting character to some minds.

THE LOCATION OF INTERSTATE AUTHORITY

The first problem in all government is the location of authority. In American commonwealths the final authority is located in the

people. But the people must have organs of government. Constitutions for states and charters for municipalities are proposed by prominent citizens chosen for this function. These written documents are then submitted to the people (the electorate, consisting of citizens above the age of 21 years and in most states confined to the male sex) for their acceptance or rejection. In these documents, legislative, executive and judicial authority is located in certain organs of government. Every European nation has certain kinds of governmental authority located in certain governmental organs. The continent of Europe has no governmental organ. The organs of national government in Europe have no authority outside of their respective boundaries. There are many and important problems affecting the entire continent of Europe, and there is no authority for dealing with them. Obviously, this authority cannot be located in (given to) France, or Germany, or Russia, or England. It must be located in (given to) a body authorized by all these, together with the other nations of Europe.

These interests, and consequently this

authority, now lie in pieces and parts scattered all over Europe, within the existing nationalities. Each part endeavoring independently to attend to what it supposes to be its rights, clashes with the other parts trying to do the same thing, and this naturally results in war. The first step in the mechanism to remove war is to locate interstate European authority in a governmental organ compositely constituted. Here is the first step in the mechanism of order, which is to remove disorder, and thus remove the occasion for war.

We have seen that a European commerce commission must come into existence. Should its members be appointed by this interstate European authority or by the separate states independently? The answer comes from the experience of federal governments. When the location of the central authority is satisfactorily consummated, all delegations of interstate functions should come directly from it, so that there will be no conflict of authority.

Now are we ready to launch out into further details of the mechanism of peace? It is the mechanism of rational government

pushed one step further than the national idea. National government is rational within its sphere—within national boundaries. But when it assumes to go beyond those boundaries it meets others doing the same thing, and hence anarchy and chaos. The super-national authority should begin where the national authority ends. Thus we have a mechanism that changes the former interstate or inter-national chaos into law and order.

A EUROPEAN COMMERCE COMMISSION

One of the first duties of this European authority, which the writer hesitates to name except by the generally accepted term "congress," is to appoint a European commerce commission and give it authority to so superintend and control the commerce of Europe, in the way suggested in this book or in some better way if it can be found, so that all the seaports of Europe will be open to all the commerce of Europe, upon equal terms of access to and exit from, the export commerce to be sent *in bond* and thus escape all taxation except legitimate and just transportation charges. Under the authority of this

CHAP. VII] *Mechanism of Peace*

commission there would be no further need for political struggle to possess or control seaports. Every portion of Europe would have access to the sea without artificial (political) obstructions; and every seaport would have all the trade that its enterprise combined with its natural position could command or attract. And this plan would not interfere in the least with protective duties in any country. Duties would be paid once, and only once—in the country where the goods are distributed for consumption.*

National boundaries are perhaps not finally drawn in Europe. After the coming peace congress gets through with that problem, there may and there may not be remnants of this problem to refer to a permanent

*International arrangements have been in existence for some time facilitating commerce on the international rivers of Europe; and some international organization among the railroads of Europe has been achieved under the "International Union of Railway Freight Transportation." These are limited applications of the principle which, if applied to the entire continent of Europe under permanent European authority, would remove most of the antagonisms formerly existing among the nations of Europe.

European congress. Some general principles must finally be recognized. Some of these are:

The right of local autonomy.

Perhaps the right to choose national adherence, which would cause an advantageous competition among the larger nations in the liberality of terms and conditions of adherence.

The consent of the governed.

Religious liberty.

Language liberty.

European control of the outlet of the Black Sea, with government of a "strip" or zone on each side of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles by a European commission appointed by and accountable to the European congress.

Here we have a mechanism including numerous minor mechanisms. There are many mechanisms included in a clock, but they all contribute to the story told on the face. As the mechanisms included in a clock measure time and tell of the movements of sun and moon, so the mechanisms necessary to secure the co-ordination of the forces and interests of Europe and the harmonious administra-

CHAP. VII] *Mechanism of Peace*

tion of the affairs of Europe, will show a continent of peace, contentment and prosperity, succeeding the continent of horrors which we now see.

CHAPTER VIII

A Harmonized Europe in Operation.

It is difficult to picture a harmonized Europe when we know that the cannon are booming viciously on many battle fronts in Europe. But on this pleasant summer morning (June 29, 1916), in the quiet Quaker city of Philadelphia, U. S. A., let us look through the eyes of sympathy for the present and of hope for the future, beyond the smoke of battle, toward what we believe will and must follow the dreadful discord now reigning throughout that troubled continent. Battles are horrible, but they end. War is brutal and destructive, but it must stop and give place to, or opportunity for, more rational human relations. War is abnormal and must be temporary. Peace is normal and should be constant.

So let us look with our mind's eye through the smoke of battle to what must follow—a harmonized Europe. The moving picture of battle has been described so often that it is

familiar to all. Let us indulge in a mental moving picture of a harmonized Europe in operation, which will be new to all who have not given thought to this subject.

We see a central co-ordinating authority. We have not been dogmatic as to the composition of this body. It is sufficient at present to know that there will be such a body with authority to control and administer the general interests and affairs of Europe. We have called this body a "congress," but we care nothing for the name. The best intelligence of Europe, after the present catastrophe has passed, must and will create and establish this controlling body. Then it will be named and the details of its construction and powers will be known. Details cannot be worked out in advance and they should not be attempted. But principles and their operation can safely be projected in a vision.

Under the management of a European commerce commission we see the products of every European country exchanging without artificial obstruction by any nation not a party to the exchange, and also we see the products of every European country flowing with freedom to the sea for export. Thus we

see no longer in Europe any country struggling for an outlet to the sea. Every "window" on every sea is open to every country that wishes to make use of such "window." The coast countries no longer fear political encroachment by countries behind them, back from sea, for such pressure is entirely relieved. Russia is no longer a menace, but instead has become a valued patron. Indeed, Russia, the Balkan states and all interior Europe have become far more valuable patrons to the rest of Europe than all the distant "colonies" combined. This one new element of harmony among the nations of Europe is alone sufficient to create a fraternity in Europe never before known.

One by one the nations will conclude that "protective duties" upon imports are a harm to their own people instead of to the people of their neighbor countries, and discard them. This will diminish the work of the European commerce commission, but even when import tariffs have been entirely abolished, as among the United States of America, there will still be duties for a European commerce commission. In the United States of America there is an Interstate

Commerce Commission which finds plenty to do in establishing justice between the shippers of freight and the carriers of freight. The same kind of duties will remain in Europe after all import tariff duties have been abolished.

EUROPEAN LANGUAGE COMMISSION

A harmoniously co-ordinated Europe will do many other things. The controlling body may possibly appoint a European language commission, not primarily to establish a world language, but primarily to protect the people of all the sections of Europe in their primary right to choose a language and to use the language of their choice. In many parts of Europe efforts are made by the authorities to suppress the native (local) language. Particularly is this true in captured provinces. In these provinces it is natural for the people to continue to speak the language of the nation of their former allegiance, but the authorities wish to impose upon the people the language of the capturing nation. This leads to unnecessary hardships and much bitterness. People like to sing their native songs in their native tongue,

but in many captured provinces this is a misdemeanor.

Every language in the many-tongued Austrian Empire, for example, and in all other empires, may be cultivated by its devotees without hindrance. However, the languages in schools and for official purposes must be chosen with due regard to the wishes and interests of the majority. The duties of this language commission will be constructive and not obstructive. It must have authority, but it will use it with discretion. The primary object of the European Language Commission will be to remove the injustices that have formerly been thrust upon communities by arrogant imperial authority. An authority emanating from the European central co-ordinating body will be superior to that of any existing European nation or empire. The aim will be to confine the central authority to affairs of Europe external to individual nations, but the right of any community to use the language of its choice is so primary that the central authority must assume the function of protecting this primary right whenever it is interfered with by any European national authority.

RIGHT TO CHOOSE SOVEREIGNTY

Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, proclaims "the right of every people to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live." He declares this right to be fundamental. Applying this right in a harmonized Europe under a central co-ordinating control, some of the local peoples may wish to change their national or imperial adherence or may wish to become politically independent. In a harmonized Europe political independence of small sections like Luxemburg would not be as objectionable as at present. For example, the political independence of Alsace-Lorraine would not interest either France or Germany as much then as in the present discordant Europe, where every nation is struggling for all the elements of military, industrial and commercial strength in its reach. Competition for power encourages selfish grasping. Removal of the need for military competition and the substituting therefor of co-operation removes the motive for selfish grasping. In a harmonized Europe France would be just as well off without Alsace-Lorraine as with these two provinces. Indeed, in a har-

monized Europe they would "belong" to France just as much if they were independent, as if they were a part of the French nation. The same remarks apply equally to Germany.

Under President Wilson's "fundamental," Poland would spring into political activity. Here many local problems would arise, and the assistance of the central co-ordinating authority would doubtless be much needed. This authority should be used freely and fearlessly for the general good, its authority towering above the national authorities of Germany, Russia and Austria, in settling the Polish problem. The controlling motive in regard to the Polish problem should be the interest of the Polish people. Whether or not a reconstructed Poland would be the best for these people, and if so, the boundaries of such reconstructed territory, the form of internal government, etc., are problems that can be successfully worked out only by patient and deliberate endeavor. It may require ten years to work out this problem, but if so it will be ten years well spent. Slow and careful construction leading to permanent results should be preferred to hasty con-

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struction leading to uncertain and temporary results, or possibly leading to disaster.

Another equally puzzling problem will be found in the Balkan states. However, the operations of the European commerce commission, opening all seaports to all the Balkan states would go far to satisfy previous longings. The spirit of nationality and the desire for national hegemony would be greatly diminished in a harmonized Europe. Slavic aspirations, Croatian longings, Serbian ambitions, etc., could find satisfaction in a harmonized Europe without very strenuous contentions concerning boundary lines.

SAFETY OF THE SMALLER NATIONS

In a harmonized Europe the small nations would find their safety. Their chief danger would be in a tendency to demand proportionately too great a representation in the central co-ordinating body. If they should be too insistent upon this, the major nations might be tempted to leave them entirely out of such body; but even so, they would be safer than they ever have been. In a discordant Europe they are dependent upon the favor of some "big brother" nation, or upon conflict-

ing jealousies among their powerful neighbors, for their safety. In a harmonized Europe there would be no motive for any powerful neighbor to injure them, particularly if they should assume a sympathetic and friendly attitude toward the general hegemony, and they could not afford to do otherwise. However, it would be much better for them to be represented in the central body and to be satisfied with reasonably proportionate representation therein.

EUROPEAN CONTROL OF THE STRAITS AND OF ASIA MINOR

The problem of the Black Sea and its outlet is chiefly a European problem. It is not an English, a German or a Russian problem, but a *European problem*. Hence, it should be controlled by Europe and in the interest of Europe and of every other interested part of the world. That means that the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should be controlled by the European central body in the interest of Europe and the world. That means also that these passages should be made entirely free. Can they be intrusted to the Turk any longer? Has not the Turk monopolized

this choice portion of the earth too long?

The author proposes that what remains of European Turkey and not only a strip on the Asiatic side of the Straits, but perhaps a section embracing all of Asia Minor, bounded on the east by a line drawn from the Russian boundary on the east coast of the Black Sea down to the Mediterranean south of Jerusalem so as to include the whole of Palestine and the Jordan and the Dead Sea valley—that this Euro-Asiatic Empire be placed under the government of a European commission appointed by the European central authority.

What about the Turk? He would not be crowded out, and he would flourish better under the liberal government proposed than he has ever flourished in his long past. The great city of Constantinople, with its incomparable location, is not his except by conquest. By peaceable and constructive conquest its control shall be taken from him; but all his private interests therein will be vastly improved. All his legitimate holdings in this great empire, whose development he has so long held in check, will swell in value to him under the magic hand of European

government and development. All the railway and other concessions in Asia Minor that have been granted to Germany, France, England and Russia should be reconsidered by this commission government and relet on terms strictly just to every interest in Europe and Asia Minor. Thus Germany would realize her empire to the southeast, but it would not be a monopolistic or exclusive empire. It would be an English empire, or a French empire, or a Russian empire in so far as these countries could make it so by absolutely impartial, just and non-discriminating competition. Indeed, it would be an empire belonging first to itself; and next to the national interests therein represented which prove to be the most enterprising and skillful in development; next, the valuable fruits of the development of this empire would reach the markets of the entire world. Greece would find this new liberal empire a valuable next door neighbor, and Italy would find it to be an almost equally valuable second door neighbor. All the Balkan states would flourish through their strategical location between this new empire and the great nations of Europe.

The Straits would find their true function in this larger peace than they have ever known. This function would be so great and so blessed that even the thought of any future military interference therewith would be intolerable; and hence the fortifications along this magic course could be dismantled and allowed to decay.

The city of Constantinople, that city of incomparable location, for the possession of which so many bloody contests have been waged, would belong to all Europe through the international commission appointed and controlled by the central European harmonizing body. Here is food for the unlimited play of fancy, but we confine ourselves strictly to hard, material calculations.

EUROPEAN CONTROL OF DISTANT COLONIES

The central European authority should and perhaps would "take over" the European control of the distant, non-self-governing colonies now belonging to Europe. This seems like a large and difficult proposition, but it is not. It is doubtful if any European country has ever received a profit from any of its colonies. It is absolutely certain that

every European country would receive benefits and profits at present immeasurable by the harmonizing of Europe itself as above described. Compared with these benefits, the possible benefits from the distant colonies are "mere bagatelles."

Yet these "bagatelles" have been very prominent disturbing factors in Europe. When European countries learn to see their larger interests close at home they will forget these minor interests thousands of miles away. In the prosperity and happiness to come, it will be seen that the Moroccan interests should be managed in reference to the benefits to Morocco primarily, and it will also be seen how comparatively small these interests are to any part of Europe. And in that good time such things as the Agadir incident will become laughable.

The "open door" colonial policy must become the future European colonial policy. No other basis of colonial trade and relations can become permanent. Much detail might be entered into concerning the colonies, but the above few lines contain the gist of the matter. The fact is that colonial exploitation has been in the main, and perhaps justly,

unprofitable. The future relations of Europe to her distant, non-self-governing colonies should be unselfish and primarily in the interest of the colonies.

* * * * *

In the above we have not contemplated a *united* Europe. That word has been intentionally avoided. If Europe shall ever become united it will be in the far distant future; but Europe can be harmonized without being united. The harmonizing of Europe is the most important political, economic and social issue that faces Europe. In this way Europe can find incalculable benefit to itself right at home. Its chief interests do not lie in other portions of the globe, but in the continent of Europe itself and the nearby Asiatic territory above mentioned.

Europe has been fighting with itself during all history. It is now engaged in the most widespread and destructive war with itself that has ever occurred. After the fighting is over it will be looking for a conclusive peace. No conclusive peace in Europe is possible except by means of a harmonized Europe.

We have intentionally avoided details concerning the harmonizing body itself. But the

foregoing possibilities under the control of such body are not in any sense fantastic.

Whether or not there shall be a European executive, and whether or not that executive be an individual or a committee, and the details concerning manner of choosing, length of term, compensation, etc., we leave entirely to those who will work out these details in the process of constructive effort.

We have also intentionally omitted consideration of a judicial constituent of the central harmonizing control. If such judicial constituent be needed, as it probably will be, it will be created when the necessity arises. This is no time for dogmatism. Let us not say what shall be or what shall not be in detail, but let us express our faith in the coming harmonious administration of the common interests of Europe, because they are so huge and so important to all humanity that rational intelligence must some time come to the rescue and create conditions that will permit the nations of Europe each to unfold and develop, not for itself alone, but for all Europe. Each will therein find that it has found its greatest good, materially, intellectually and spiritually.

AN INTERNATIONAL "BILL OF RIGHTS"

The glory of a civilization is made up of simple and primary things. We have discussed the primary right of trade and access to the sea.

We have mentioned the choice of language as a primary right.

We may also mention the choice of religion as a primary right.

Local autonomy is a community public right.

Provincial or state autonomy is a larger public right.

The right of a province to choose its national hegemony is also a public right.

It is the right and the duty of nations to harmonize and co-operate with their neighbors.

A civilization made up of these primary and necessary private rights, and these communal and provincial public rights, and these national rights and duties, skillfully and liberally administered, rests upon a solid foundation.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has risen by means of a succession of "declarations of rights," the establishment of which from

time to time has finally resulted in our present liberties and organized government. These liberties have now been safely lodged in our common law. But after the constitution of the United States of America was created and accepted, immediately there was dissatisfaction because the primary rights were not mentioned therein; so the first Congress, in 1789, proposed a series of amendments chiefly for the purpose of embodying these rights. Twelve amendments were proposed, ten of which were speedily ratified by the required number of states, and they became a part of the constitution in 1791.

The constitution of every one of the states in the United States of America contains a "bill of rights," which consists chiefly of reiterations of the ideas in the first ten amendments to the United States constitution.

When the harmonization of the nations of Europe shall be seriously considered by the leading minds of Europe, the first ten amendments to the United States constitution and the bills of rights in the constitutions of our forty-eight states, will be read and considered with interest. It is not here proposed or predicted that Europe will feel exactly the

same needs or use exactly the same phraseology in expressing them as in America. But it is suggested that the essential nature of primary human needs and rights must be similar everywhere, and that any lasting adjustment of human relations must recognize them.

It is here earnestly proposed that the authority that harmonizes the peoples of Europe recognize these things, and insist that its authority and power shall be able to sustain, *within national or state boundaries*, whatever of these rights that may be agreed upon. The United States authority can go into any state and render a service to a citizen (as delivering a letter to him), apprehend a violator of a United States law, or lay a tax and collect it. These are the things that seal together the different states, and they would seal together the peoples of Europe into a harmony that they have never yet known. The value of this harmony to every people included would be inestimable.

It is important that every man, woman and child should know and feel these recognitions of fundamental verities in their lives; and some emblem should symbolize the har-

mony in international interests, the guaranty of primary personal and community rights, and the great services that a central authority could render constantly to the realization of security, prosperity, and happiness. This symbol would be an international flag, which would be placed above every national flag. Thus every national flag would be preserved, but over and in harmony with each national flag would float the European flag; and some time the latter would become the world flag—the flag of civilization.

Washington looked out on a much larger world than we do. He looked upon a Europe two months distant; a California also about two months distant. Think to what extent a little more than a century has narrowed the Atlantic and all other oceans, and also shortened the land distances. This smaller world can now become a fraternity—a thing impossible a century ago.

It is conceivable that the advanced nations of Europe have a larger conception of rights than the backward states; and it is not desirable that any state shall be kept back, or that any state be thrust unduly and too suddenly forward.

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The agreement on such fundamentals for all Europe should be such as to meet the ideals of all Europe at any particular time, with a workable mechanism by which new adjustments may be made as the universal conception of fundamental rights enlarges. The United States constitution needed and received an enlargement concerning the expression of fundamentals soon after its establishment. It has received other additions since, and will undoubtedly receive still other amendments.

Each separate state of Europe should also have a mechanism by which it may express for itself its advancing conceptions of fundamentals.

Let us vision Europe with a public law; not a French law nor a German law, but a European law. Europe is now lawless. A single European public law creating a European Commerce Commission with appropriate powers would open every port in Europe to every portion of Europe; would open every railroad, every canal and every other public utility to the use of every people in Europe, on similar terms; would expand the possibilities of every nation in Europe to the

extreme confines of that continent; and all this without interfering with the internal trade, industries or other internal arrangements of any nation.

This is not a dream. All this is realized by each of the forty-eight states in the U. S. A., territory approximately the size of the continent of Europe. Every one of these states has rights in every other state, without interfering with the domestic arrangements of any state. Our states have free trade with one another, but the transportation of goods *in bond*, under the authority of a European Commerce Commission would make the exchange of goods among the European nations as unrestricted as among the states of the U. S. A., and the payment of duty *once* (only), at the point of distribution, would safeguard the domestic interests of every nation that would want to continue tariff duties.

Let us vision a Europe thus bound together with this simple and just co-operation, instead of the disintegrated Europe that we now see. The French ports should have the benefit of the trade of central Europe; the Adriatic and Aegean ports should have the

benefit of the trade of southern Europe; and all regardless of national boundaries. The trade of central Europe should flow unrestrictedly to the southeast into Asia Minor and beyond, whether such trade be French, German, Danish, Dutch, Austrian, etc., all on equal terms. The German ambition to create a water connection between the Rhine and the Danube, thus connecting the North Sea, with the Black Sea, is a creditable ambition. It is a dream that should be realized, for the benefit, not of Germany alone, but of every part of Europe which could use such a magnificent system of transportation.

The Bosphorus and Dardanelles should be as free from single nation control as the open sea. By Public Right these passages belong to Europe and Asia. Public Law in Europe would prove to Britain the needlessness of sitting at the rock of Gibraltar, decade after decade, and century after century, and in time she would get tired of the needless expense. She would also get tired of keeping up a navy to "rule the wave," which would then be ruled by Public Law. And Public Law would render needless and impossible those periods of more or less extended

anarchy (war) that are unavoidable in a world without Public Law.

With Europe under the reign of Law, national boundaries would mean less and less each decade. Race prejudice would lose its "edge" where amity and justice reign. Historical grudges would vanish. And may we hope that the highest ability and exalted justice of Europe, which would come to the surface under proper conditions, would administer all the non-self-governing colonies of the world, primarily in the interest of the colonies, and with the "open door"?

Such an administration of the affairs of Europe would attract the admiration and finally the adherence of the remainder of the civilized world to Europe.

Here is a vision that is not a dream. A harmonized Europe, harmonized sufficiently to establish at least a simple, broad basis for European law, is not at all impossible. There are laws, administrations and authorities which extend farther than the greatest distance between any two points in Europe. Peoples farther apart in race and culture than any in Europe are now being governed under the same authority. The inhabitants

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of every part of Europe come to the U. S. A. and abide together under the federal and local laws. What has been achieved and in daily operation in other parts of the world should be possible in Europe.

Is there sufficient ability, wisdom and "vision" in Europe to accomplish this greatest present need in the civilized world? Will not the leading minds there start a movement in this direction?—the only direction in which Europe can find safety from savagery like the present. It need not depend upon the leading minds. Any rational mind can grasp the simple outlines and appreciate the tremendous importance of this plan for all Europe. The contemplation of the idea of European Public Law and European Public Right will reduce bloodthirstiness by diminishing national and racial pride and prejudice; and when Public Administration of European Law for the Public Good of all Europe shall come into operation, the wonder will be that the nations of Europe, supposedly civilized, remained in anarchy so long.

CHAPTER IX

“The Freedom of the Seas.”

This expression is very loosely and confusingly used in these days. It is defined by different people in different ways. It is an expression which should pass out of use unless its meaning can be clearly defined and generally agreed upon.

“The freedom of the seas!” The seas are already free except in time of war. The age of piracy has passed. So the only thing that we need consider is the seas during war. War is constantly becoming more and more horrible on land. If war cannot be controlled on land, why should it be and how can it be controlled on the sea?

The control of the sea during war will always be, as it always has been, a matter of strength—just like war power on land. Perhaps it is natural that those nations not possessing a control of the sea during war should complain of the actions of the nation or nations possessing that control. There is no

evidence that any nation seeking control of the sea would use that control during war with any better judgment or with any greater self-restraint than has been exercised up to the present time.

SEA PROBLEM IS A LAND PROBLEM

Man is a land animal. He cannot live upon the sea excepting by means of devices made upon land. The control of the sea is, always has been, and always will be from the land. The only time during which "the freedom of the seas" is an issue is during war. War also is a land creation. The only way to solve this problem of "the freedom of the seas" during war is to solve the problem of war, and that is a land question. As war has not been controlled on land, how can we expect that it should be controlled on the sea? Such expectation is only a baseless sentiment of minds that do not think consistently. Civilization can never expect to control the seas during war any more than it controls the lands during war.

Some define "the freedom of the seas" to mean the exemption of private property from capture upon the open sea during war. What

an absurdity! Private property of the enemy during war is not "private" if the enemy can get at it. That is one of the rules of war on land; why should it not continue to be so on the sea? We must realize how hellish, how uncivilized, how horrible in every meaning of the word, war is on land. It is "the nature of the beast"; and why should his nature be any different on sea than on land? During the present war practically all of the so-called "regulations" of war have been violated on land, and continue to be violated without attempt at restraint. In the presence of these facts, the sentiment that we hear so often expressed concerning what ought not to be permitted on the sea during war is entirely without consistency. The only solution is to control the "beast" of war. When he is controlled on land he will be automatically controlled on the seas. So let us hear no more of the freedom of the seas during war excepting by and through the freedom of the land from war.

THE NEUTRAL COMPLICATION

A complication of this problem is that the belligerents meet neutrals on the sea, and an

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important part of the question is the relation of belligerent vessels to neutral vessels. There is no question as to the relation of enemy vessels to one another. The duty of enemy vessels to one another, according to the dictates of war, is absolute destruction whenever possible. Less quarter to enemies is given on sea than on land. In many ways war on sea is far more savage than war on land. The relations of belligerent vessels to neutral vessels is that of war in so far as a neutral vessel entertains the enemy or bears any aid to him.

If a belligerent vessel could not stop a neutral vessel and remove from it enemies found thereon, then neutral vessels could become transports for one or both of the belligerents! Such a proposition would be absurd. Hence, the right of search of neutral vessels on the sea for enemies, and the forcible removal of enemies therefrom when found, is a necessary feature of war. The same rule must hold concerning all articles intended for the use of the enemy that will strengthen him in war. These articles are called "contraband"; and in the absence of any general agreement as to what articles shall and what

articles shall not be considered contraband, the belligerent capturing power should itself have the right to determine what it shall and shall not consider contraband. If copper, or rubber, or cotton strengthen the enemy (which they undoubtedly do), these articles should be considered contraband. If the policy of one belligerent is to weaken his enemy by curtailing his supplies of food, then all articles of food, by reasonable application of the principles of war, must be considered contraband. Of course, a hungry enemy cannot be expected to be able to apply principles consistently; so while he is hungry and suffering he will complain of injustice, but he would do the very same thing to the enemy if he had the power to do so. For then he would not be hungry, and he would see the consistency in the application of war principles. And when neutrals find their trade interfered with, they also find it difficult to be consistent. But when they are at war, then this difficulty of consistent application of principles disappears. These things can never safely be left to suffering parties. They will always say one thing when they are on the side whose trade is obstructed, and the op-

posite when they are on the dominant side.

It is claimed by some authorities that the mails should be sacred and free from the hand of war. Why, if the mails carry aid to the enemy? The mails are as human an institution as is a ship, so why should they be any more "sacred"? If a suspected neutral ship is subject to examination and detention for the purpose of detailed examination, why should not suspected mails on said ship or on any other ship be subject to the same rule? The answer is "international agreement"; but have not all sorts of international agreements been disregarded in this war? Have not practically all of them been torn to shreds or "gone up in smoke"?

WAR NOT A RESPECTER OF LAW

And what is the use of trying to control war by agreement or law? War is a lawless thing—a challenge to all law. It respects nothing except a flag of truce; and belligerents respect that because of the hope of some temporary alleviation of the tyranny of lawlessness. Since war is so terrible, and growing more and more terrible, why should effort be wasted in fruitless attempts to regulate it

when the only real remedy is to remove the causes of war, and thus remove war itself? The cause of war is the lack of international organization. When international co-ordination and harmonization shall be established there will be no further occasion for war nor preparation for war. Hence war will cease to be.

"The freedom of the seas" during war is an absurdity. The seas are controlled from the land both in peace and in war. If the land cannot control war, the freedom of the seas during war can never be realized. The latter is the tail of the problem and not the head. Control is and always must be at the head.

It has recently been complained that the contraband list has been arbitrarily expanded, and also that the places of capture of contraband articles have been too far away from the enemy coast or too near to the neutral coast of origin. What absurd complaints! We have said that what articles should be considered contraband must always be decided by the belligerent that is able to capture the contraband. No other plan is consistent with war. Neutrals should be

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warned as to what articles are to be considered contraband, and beyond that regulation neutrals cannot complain. They will complain, however, as one who is hurt or interfered with always will complain, but place that neutral in the position of the belligerent able to keep contraband from his enemy and he will do exactly what the belligerents have done who have been able to control the sea during this war. And as to the place of capture of contraband on the sea, any place outside the three-mile limit from a neutral coast must always be considered a proper place of capture, if consistency is to be recognized. The three-mile limit was first made because it was supposed to be the limit of the carrying power of cannon defending the coast. The reason for this limit has now radically changed, but the agreement has not changed. When any new breadth of coast limit shall be made, then it will be time to revise accordingly the statement just made. But the statement just made is so basic in its truth that no revision of it is possible except an increase of the three-mile limit, if such increase shall ever be agreed upon—and this three-mile limit agreement is about the only limitation

upon war that the anarchy of war has left intact.

THE SUBMARINE

The submarine boat is a new marine weapon. The attempts which have been made to subject this new weapon to the old rules have been successful, but the writer believes that this success must be temporary. The parable of the new wine in old bottles applies here—and when that parable was spoken the “bottles” were not the glass bottles now commonly used, but goat-skin bottles subject to decay. War cannot accept such an inconsistency. Indeed, the god of war usually has his way to the extent of his power, consistency or no consistency. So we may expect this temporary settlement to be reversed whenever war is able to reverse it, or whenever an international agreement upon this subject shall decide in favor of consistency.

The submarine brings up the question of the shipping of ammunition and other munitions of war. There is no question as to the legitimacy of the trade in war munitions between neutrals and either or both belligerents during a war. The only question is concern-

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ing the delivery of the goods over the seas; and that is a question of naval strength. The power controlling the sea will, of course, prevent any such goods from reaching his enemy, as such goods have always been absolutely contraband. But the submarine is an instrument that to some extent disputes the control of the seas. The submarine will destroy war vessels of the belligerent whenever it can do so, and no question is raised by a neutral or belligerent as to its war right to do so. It is a short step, indeed, if it is a step at all, from an enemy war vessel to a vessel, either enemy or neutral, laden with war munitions bound for an enemy port. If a submarine may unquestionably destroy, of course without warning, an enemy warship, the same reason should give it a right to destroy a ship, either enemy or neutral, carrying arms and ammunition to its enemy. Such ship is an arsenal at sea. And enemy arsenals are always subject to destruction in time of war.

A complication arises when neutrals or noncombatants are present as passengers on such arsenals at sea. Shall the presence of such neutrals or noncombatants protect these arsenals from enemy destruction? No

one would claim that the presence of neutrals or noncombatants would protect from destruction an enemy arsenal on land. It would be said: Why were neutrals or non-combatants present in an enemy arsenal on land? And if neutrals are in the crew helping to operate the "arsenal," they are performing enemy functions and subject to war risks, just as they would be if they were functioning as enemies on land. Consistency must demand that the same reasoning be applied to arsenals at sea as to arsenals on land. Here another error has been made during this war. This decision cannot stand unless inconsistency shall stand.

And now we come to many complications of sea warfare. How can a submarine identify the above mentioned "arsenals at sea"? Does the incidental inclusion of a comparatively small amount of arms and ammunition in a general cargo on a passenger vessel class that vessel as "an arsenal at sea"? Are deceptions by the use of a neutral flag by an enemy merchant vessel or an enemy war vessel justified? Are the same or similar deceptions permitted on land permissible on the sea?

Here are many difficult questions, none of which has been satisfactorily answered. All of them, perhaps, never will be satisfactorily nor finally answered except by the disappearance of war. War is a manifestation of a malign force; it is misdirected force. The reason for its presence in our civilization is because we have not learned how to conduct our relations. When we do learn this art there will be no more war. It will disappear just as the darkness disappears in the presence of light. The only way to remove war is to manage international relations with intelligence instead of with the cudgel and its successors.

THE FUTURE RULE OF THE SEA

War has no morality. It has always been dishonest on land and it gloats over its dishonesty and over all others forms of immorality from which it may get even the least advantage, even a temporary advantage, over the adversary. It can hardly be expected that such a monster would or could change his nature at sea. But here on the open sea his operations are complicated by the legitimate presence of neutrals—ships

subject to non-interference if they carry nothing that will be of advantage to the enemy, but subject to interference in proportion as they may carry or may be attempting to carry aid to the enemy. "Call and search" is an old custom, to determine the status of a neutral ship at sea. But the extensive shipment of munitions from neutral ports to belligerent ports, and the legitimate function of submarines to prevent the success of such shipments if they can, must necessarily change the rule of "call and search" on account of the lack of power of resistance of the submarine combined with its power of destruction. A man-of-war can call and search, then determine deliberately the fate of the vessel, saving the crew and passengers. The submarine can only destroy; and war will never consent to the retirement of an efficient weapon of destruction. It would seem that the only consistent rule in future would be as follows: neutral ships carrying innocent neutral goods and neutral passengers should be so marked or designated for safety from submarine attack. Also for "the honor of war," if it ever had any honor, belligerent merchant ships, unarmed, carry-

ing only neutral or non-combatant passengers and innocent goods should be free from submarine destruction when so marked or designated. But here comes in the question of honesty. Could an enemy submarine trust the mark or designation of an enemy merchant ship so marked and designated? Supposedly it could trust a neutral ship so marked or designated, but an enemy ship, even so designated, brings the question within the realm of war, and in that realm dishonesty is legitimate. Here again are a multiplicity of questions which will, perhaps, never be satisfactorily answered except by the passing of war from the domain of civilization.

The problems of war must be settled on land; they never can be settled on the sea. The improvements in civilization that will remove the occasion for war must be accomplished on land. Therefore, "the freedom of the seas" in war is a misnomer; and all the misconstructions and misconceptions that that meaningless phrase is subject to, can have no place in a rational consideration of international problems. True, war is full of irrationalities, but there is no need of in-

creasing the complications by adding a meaningless and misleading phrase.

Let us fully realize that "the freedom of the seas" is not an issue excepting during war. Let us realize that war on sea is much the same as it is on land, and always will remain so. Further, that war is made on land, its beginnings and endings are made on land, and if it ever disappears from the realm of civilization this work will have to be done on land. So do not blame the sea for faults belonging entirely to the land. The question of "the freedom of the seas" during war is entirely a land question. It can no more be regulated than war can be regulated on land. Neutrals will have to realize this, and they will have to realize that belligerent rights are superior to neutral rights wherever and as long as belligerent powers can make them so. It is not a question of "right." It is only a question of power. Power is the only thing that war recognizes or respects. The only logical thing for neutrals to do during war is to keep out of the way of war. In so far as they cannot do that, they must subject themselves to the rules made by the power that is able to make rules during war, or else enter the war.

INTERNATIONAL LAW BASED ON FORCE

International law, so-called, is just like any other law: it rests upon force. During a small war international law can be maintained by the superior force of neutrals. In a general world war like the one now in progress the neutrals are nearly powerless. Hence, so-called international law has almost disappeared, as it will always disappear during war unless the neutral power is greater than the belligerent power, thus being able to uphold the law. The apparent settlement at the present time (June, 1916) of the German submarine question is no settlement at all. The Germans do not, at the present time, wish to add another enemy to their list; and they look forward to certain financial and other advantages at the close of the war. This is the only thing that restrains their submarine activities. If our nation or any other nation were in a similar position, it would take about the same position that the Germans have taken, and for the same reasons; it would restrain or go right ahead with its submarine activities, according to its view of its best interests, just like the Germans. Considerations of humanity would

have no bearing then. War has nothing to do with humanity. War is essentially anti-humanitarian. The considerations of humanity do not restrain Germany in the use of submarines, nor would they restrain our nation or any other nation in the use of submarines. In the absence of other restraining influences it is the business of humanity to keep out of the way. But a supremely better thing for humanity to do would be to use its intelligence in the management of international affairs, and then the hell of war would never again come into existence.

It is the humble and modest opinion of the writer that no other power would use the control of the sea in peace or war as reasonably, as intelligently and as restrainedly as the British nation has used it during the past century. If the writer may here express an opinion, it is that the transfer of the control of the sea to Germany, to Russia, to France or even to the United States of America would be a step downward. No nation has so strong a need for the control of the sea, so good a reason for the control of the sea, so well proven self-control and impartial justice in the control of the sea as the British

nation. There is only one better alternative in the opinion of the writer; that is, that the sea should be controlled by the civilized nations of the globe acting in harmony. Such co-ordinated action would automatically remove war as a method of attempted solution of international problems. The removal of war from the pages of civilization would automatically remove the now mooted problem, "the freedom of the seas during war." Then there would be no such problem because there would be no more war. Great Britain would certainly be satisfied with this arrangement, and doubtless would be pleased to be relieved from the burden of the control of the seas. She would, doubtless, welcome a better guarantee, a less expensive guarantee, of her safety.

MARINE MINES

There is an element in modern marine warfare that demands special consideration, and also demands special control, if it is possible to control any element of war without entirely destroying the war monster. I refer to marine mines.

It must be admitted that any nation has a

right to mine its own waters. But when a mine breaks its moorings and floats at random without control within the original territorial waters, how can neutral ships legally and rightfully within those waters be protected? Should not full responsibility rest with the nation that planted the mine? And when the same loosened mine floats beyond its original territorial waters, the responsibility should not be lessened.

Floating mines put into the sea to float at random are a tragic menace to all shipping. No nation should have a right to so "poison the seas" to neutrals. "Military necessity" should not for a moment be tolerated as an excuse for such a crime. It is said that over five hundred Chinese vessels were destroyed by floating mines in the first few years following the war between Russia and Japan. Perhaps both nations would plead innocence, and it is difficult and usually impossible to trace a floating mine to its source, even when fragments can be recovered. An international agreement that both or all belligerents shall be held equally liable for loss of life and destruction of property of neutrals by floating mines, is as near justice as could be devised.

CHAP. IX] *The Freedom of the Seas*

If war can be regulated at all, marine mines should be among the first to receive such regulation, and the most rigid regulation. The Hague Conference of 1907 attempted it. It said: "It is forbidden to lay unanchored automatic contact mines, except when they are so constructed as to become harmless one hour at most after the person who laid them ceases to control them." This is the text, but in this war it has become "a scrap of paper"—another proof that war cannot be controlled. The only thing that can be done with war is to eliminate it. The only way to eliminate it is to remove the antagonisms upon which it thrives. When nations are co-ordinated, when peoples are harmonized, marine mines will become only museum curiosities of the ages of antagonism.

We might talk long and wisely of how any nation that puts a floating mine into the open sea, or into any arm of the sea from which it could easily float into the open sea, should be fined a million dollars for every offence—for every mine, for a mine could easily destroy much more than a million dollars' worth of neutral property and also many neutral lives. This is like the "wisdom" in

which nearly all of us have believed in childhood: "The way to catch a bird is to first put salt on his tail." Many innocent children have vainly tried this experiment, until it has finally dawned upon the tender mind that it is more difficult to put salt on the bird's tail than to catch the bird—that he would have to catch the bird *in order to* put the salt on its tail—and then there would be no object in using the salt at all, for the object, catching the bird, would already be attained.

When civilization can prevent nations at war from strewing the sea with mines when there is a prospect that this will injure the enemy, even though it menace neutrals, civilization can prevent nations from going to war. There is nothing more dastardly than endangering neutral waters with floating mines, and there is no regulation of war more needed than the prevention of such an international crime. But it is another instance of putting salt on the bird's tail. An international authority that could so control two or more nations at war, could much more easily so adjust the conflicting affairs of said nations that there would be no occasion for war.

CHAP. IX] *The Freedom of the Seas*

Piracy was a menace to the freedom of the seas, and this menace was suppressed by international co-operation for law upon the sea. Submarine contact mines come only with war, and war is lawless. The mines cannot be suppressed except by international co-operation that will take the place of war. The mines will disappear automatically, as war disappears; and they can be gotten rid of in no other way.

CHAPTER X

The U. S. A. and a Harmonized Europe.—Asia, Europe and Pan-America.—A Harmonized World.

Not many years ago a movement was attempted in Europe for the creation of a “United States of Europe” as an instrument for economic competition with the United States of America. Trade war knows and cares but little more about morality and humanity than does military war. Let us grasp at that “little,” and let us hope that “civilization,” Christianity, or some other benevolent or ethical force will expand it. However, many will have no confidence in any noticeable expanding of morality and humanity when economic interests are opposed to these considerations. Moral and humanitarian appeals are very strong in personal and immediate relations, but they grow weaker as relations become impersonal and remote.

The idea of a “United States of Europe” as a competitive force in its own interests as

against the economic interests of the U. S. A. has a basis of sound reason and rational motive according to trade standards. But the nations of Europe were too blind in their own relations to see it. Also a "United States of Europe" is at present beyond even our reasonable dreams. A *harmonized* Europe must come first, and the degrees of harmony will begin small and increase gradually as co-ordinating intelligence increases. Experience and a growing realization of the importance of co-ordinating intelligence will push this new "civilization" along at a rapid rate.

By the time that a harmonized Europe is ready and able to injuriously affect the economic interests of the U. S. A., it will have learned the value of *co-operation*—it will have learned that friendly and intelligent co-operation will help both sides of the Atlantic, and that malignant self-seeking would injure both sides, particularly the guilty side.

POSSIBILITY OF UNION WITH EUROPE

The blood of every nation in Europe is strongly represented in the U. S. A. In this portion of America the blood is distinctly

European. In Canada it is distinctly Anglo-Saxon, except in the French Province of Quebec. In Mexico and in Central and South America the blood of the white population is distinctly Spanish and Portuguese. Hence, there should be a natural harmony between the U. S. A. and the entire continent of Europe. The largest ships of the world, and the largest commerce of the world, ply between Europe and the U. S. A. Europe has no greater interest outside of itself than in the U. S. A., and *vice versa*. We hear much, these days, of a Pan-America. Any mutual co-operation between and among any nations, anywhere, should be encouraged. It is the most blessed thing possible in political life. But nearly all the ties of blood, language, religion, tradition, trade, trade routes and distance bind the U. S. A. to *Europe* instead of to Latin America. Hence a working harmony between two sections of the world that have all the advantages of blood, distance, language, etc., would seem to be more natural, more needed, more advantageous, more likely to be consummated than between two sections that have less to bind them together.

Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires are as

far from New York as is the coast of South Africa.

The trade routes are from New York to Europe, and not from New York to South America. Latin America is different from the U. S. A. in language, religion and traditions.

The accident of name, America, applying to the two continents of North and South America, and the accident of land connection by a narrow isthmus between them, which has now been severed by the Panama Canal, are the special reasons for the Pan-American sentiment. These are poor reasons for permanent political relations; but let us welcome them as far as they go, and let us increase the real reasons as fast as we can. And at the same time let us recognize the much stronger reasons for political relations between the U. S. A. and the continent of Europe. These reasons are particularly strong between the U. S. A. and Great Britain. And Canada, immediately north of and contiguous to the U. S. A., is a British colony.

Let us look for political harmonies, and cultivate them everywhere. And let us discourage political discords. The success of

the British Empire proves that political harmonies can cross the broadest seas. The long existence of the Swiss Federation, the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires proves that diversity in language, race, religion, etc., are not necessarily inconsistent with political harmony—even political unity.

And how about Asia? An important part of Asia is already in the British Empire. Will Europe be so unwise as to force the sleeping Chinese giant, when he awakens, to imitate the worst feature of European life—its military development? The Japanese have already learned the art of modern war, and their skill and courage in modern warfare rank very high. Students of history who turn their eyes from the past into the possible future, look with dread to a possible, or even probable, war between Europe and Asia, which would be greater, more destructive and in every way more bloody and horrible than even the awful war now in progress in Europe. May not such a monstrous crime be prevented? If political discord and anarchy between Europe and Asia should be accentuated, we know the certain result. We also know the many and great rewards of the

opposite course. When will humanity learn to do as well as it *knows*?

SANE LEADERSHIP

If a man from Mars were to visit Earth and land in Europe, he would say that the political leaders of Europe should be put into insane asylums, and that the people of Europe should be put under sane leadership. He would also say that the many ties and bonds of mutual interest between Europe and the U. S. A. should be expressed in political terms and assume a political form. He would also say that attempted exploitation of Asia by Europe will lead to certain resistance and possible attempt at counter-exploitation; and that the supreme interest of both would be served by mutual helpfulness—harmony.

The writer hesitates to speak of a “congress of nations”—“the parliament of man.” It is a poet’s vision, but logic points to it as the supreme and ultimate political wisdom of man. It is not difficult to see that a harmonized world would be incomparably better than the present discordant world. As these pages are being written for the present generation, and to point out present political

possibilities, no more will be said concerning the above mentioned vision except that a harmonized Europe would be a long step toward a harmonized world.

But a Europe so strengthened should not entertain the fatuous and criminal idea of world domination. Shall we hold back, for fear of such a crime? Shall we hold back our present youth because they may possibly become criminals? Shall we not, rather, develop, teach and direct our present youth, so that they may not only be worthy successors of the present generation, but stronger in every way, and at the same time upright in character, and hence be entirely safe repositories of greater strength and ability?

Similarly, shall we not so guide and direct our developing political institutions, that they may increase in both safety and strength? We must do either that or go back to barbarism. The present war in Europe demonstrates the rapid reaction toward the life and ideals of the cave man, unless we make it teach us greater political wisdom, and lead us to mend our ways accordingly.

CHAPTER XI

Location of the European Capital or the World Capital.

In this chapter we may touch the realm of romance. In previous chapters the writer has striven so hard to avoid anything fatuous or fantastic that he approaches the above subject with reluctance, yet he feels that some things should be said about it.

The most fantastic proposition concerning this matter that the writer has ever heard of is that the world capital be located on our island of Porto Rico, lying east of Cuba, as made in a bill introduced in our Congress during the present session. Perhaps the proposer had in his mind the probable important routes of travel to be developed passing by Porto Rico, consequent upon the commerce passing through the Panama Canal.

Dreamers of no mean ability have visioned Constantinople, in its matchless location, as the future world capital.

With these two suggestions, one absurd

and the other an interesting dream, let us drop the subject of a world capital and turn our attention to our primary interest at present, Europe.

National or international scientific associations meet in different cities at different times. Conceivably the co-ordinating body of a harmonized Europe might do the same thing. But if so, it is quite certain that such an arrangement would be temporary, and that sooner or later a permanent center and home would be found for these important interests and services.

The idea is quite prevalent that important international political meetings should be held in the territory of a small country, in order to avoid jealousies between or among the larger countries. Hence the choice of The Hague for the conferences that have become familiar under the name of The Hague Conferences. As a consequence of these conferences, Mr. Andrew Carnegie caused to be built at that place his famous Peace Palace, as a contribution to and for the encouragement of the peace of the world. Hence probably more minds have thought of The Hague than of any other one place as a possible

world capital. Perhaps the same arguments would apply concerning a European capital, which subject we are now considering. But let us realize that the climate of The Hague is not inviting during a large portion of the year, it has no shipping either by river or sea, and the Dutch language is not one of the leading languages of Europe or of the world.

Antwerp is a good port, but its climate is scarcely better than that of The Hague, and its languages are Flemish (decadent and obsolescent), Dutch and French.

Brussels is beautiful, its climate is better than that of The Hague or Antwerp, but it is inland.

Geneva is beautiful and exceedingly attractive as an intellectual center, but it is quite a journey inland, if that would be an objection, which becomes more and more questionable the more we think of it.

If we should go into the territory of a major nation, France stands out as the most universally admired and best loved. Then our minds wander, as we look at the map of Europe, to the Mediterranean coast of France or of Northern Italy; and to some of the Channel ports of Northern France.

A national capital, as Paris, Berlin or Vienna, would of course be objected to by the other nations.

Then our minds go back to The Hague, Antwerp, Brussels and Geneva.

NEUTRAL LAND FOR CAPITAL

And finally we conclude that a European capital or a world capital should be neutral territory—its own territory—as is Washington, District of Columbia, U. S. A. This district, originally ten miles square, was chosen “in the wild” by a commission, and the states of Virginia and Maryland were glad to cede the territory without cost or condition, for the new national capital. Many European nations would doubtless be glad to cede a district for the coming capital of Europe or of the world. The competition among the many locations that would be offered would be interesting.

There are many reasons that would place the capital of Europe in western Europe. The proximity of the largest marine interests, the fact that western Europe is the most progressive part of Europe—the part most imbued with liberal ideas, and the hope that

the U. S. A. would finally "ring" in harmony with a harmonized Europe, are some of the reasons.

With these brief remarks on a subject not now an issue, and with confidence that this matter will be carefully and ably considered and wisely decided when the good time comes, we leave it to the future, but we hope that blessed future will not be too far distant.

CHAPTER XII

A Substitute for Discredited Diplomacy.

The author feels an embarrassing diffidence in offering this small book on such a large subject. He feels particularly so in regard to Europe, as it is a large assumption for an American to presume to offer to Europe a solution of its problems. He cannot expect that his counsel will be heeded; but even so, he cannot restrain himself from offering it. We Americans, though thousands of miles away from war-torn Europe and safe from danger, read the news daily of battles on every military front. We see the stream of wounded being taken from behind every firing line. We see the blood and we hear the groans. We hear the whistling shells and see them tear the trenches, burying or mutilating those in them. We have learned what a "curtain of fire" is. We have watched the aimless wandering in war-swept countries of families driven from wrecked homes.

These horrors are with us day and night.

CHAP. XII] *Discredited Diplomacy*

Your European war is not yours alone. Its anguish crosses every sea. All the world is concerned. Europe has no *right* to so distress the entire world. Is there no world right? no public right? no world law? In imagination we have gone through the chancellories of Europe and found no answer to these questions, and found no wisdom there better than the supposed wisdom that has always led to wars, and that always must lead to wars. Any change whatever could by no possibility lead to anything worse than the present plight of Europe; and such a calamity in Europe must necessarily affect the feelings, the sympathies and the substantial interests of all the world. Hence the relations existing among the nations of Europe is not only a European question but also a world question.

There is a world public right, if humanity will only assert it. It is not right that millions of the best fitted men should be armed for mutual murder. It is not right that millions of money should be used every day for murderous purposes. It is not right that science should strain its last atom of knowledge and ability to murder men instead of to

save men. Can humanity establish its rights?

We do not trust the simplest operations of community life without law. A state, however small, without the regulation of law would excite the wonder, the humor and the ridicule of the entire civilized world. Yet we trust the operations of the complicated relations of many nations to "luck," there being no world law.

The grass grows; the flowers bloom; fruit ripens; fire burns; steam works for us; and in countless other ways we constantly see local natural laws in operation. But what if God had forgotten to put the heavenly bodies under law and order? Then "the music of the spheres" would be a discord instead of a harmony, and sunshine would come and go at uncertain times. The fancy of the reader may play in this kind of a universe as long as it desires to do so; but the reader should not fail to make the political application.

LAW INSTEAD OF DIPLOMACY

We have invented a peculiar thing called "diplomacy" to take the place that should be filled by world law. We have sent suave and polite gentlemen called "diplomats," with

CHAP. XII] *Discredited Diplomacy*

plenty of ornamentation and empty formalities but entirely without power, to the various capitals to "represent" their respective sovereigns and peoples. These gentlemen are educated and highly trained in the use of the "nothings" of their special profession. They handle the most serious problems, and yet they have no power to settle anything. Their responsibilities are the greatest possible, and their powers are *nil*. Before the days of the telegraph and submarine cable their functions may have been important, temporarily, at times. The same may still be true to some extent.

But the great danger of the diplomatic international institution is that we depend too much upon it, and at the same time give it no powers. At best it is an awkward make-shift, better perhaps than no political international relations at all, but it should have been considered temporary instead of permanent, and it should long ago have been succeeded by some better system for international understanding and co-operation. The utter failure and breakdown of our present system of diplomacy is shown by the present war in Europe. After this war, it is the duty of

Europe, the headquarters of civilization, to present to itself and to the world a better system of international regulation than the worn out plan of diplomatic representation.

What would we think of Switzerland if that federation should give up its central organization and try to get along by means of a diplomatic representative from every canton in every canton capital? What would we think if the German federation would try to regulate the relations among its states on the diplomatic plan that the nations of the world have so long used? Don't propose such a step backward into archaism as a substitute for the existing relations among the states in the U. S. A. if you wish to be considered sane. Then what shall we say of a continuation of that system among the nations of the world? Europe is emphatically the part of the world in greatest need of a better system, for there great and ancient nations are crowded together, and there the international difficulties are the greatest. Europe should say farewell to her diplomats and establish a better system; and the rest of the world should not be slow to follow a good example.

WORLD COURT NOT SUFFICIENT

We have heard much in recent years of a world court. The same arguments and enthusiasm does or probably will exist in favor of a European court, with the temptation to stop there. It cannot be too strongly urged that as a central co-ordinating body a court will not satisfy. Courts settle difficulties only after the difficulties have arisen. They do not prevent difficulties from arising. The proverbial "ounce of prevention" is here worth many "pounds of cure." A court is a very useful governmental adjunct, but its field of operation is limited and remote.

A central co-ordinating body should be a body that can foresee future difficulties and prevent them from arising if possible; and when not possible, it should be able to negotiate, adjust, etc., so that difficulties may be smoothed over and not require a court trial and decision. But more than all, the body needed is one which will busy itself more with *services* than with difficulties. Adjustments of forces in all parts of Europe may be made in ways that serve, whereas they now go to waste or destroy. Particularly is that true in regard to military preparedness, which

would be obsolescent in a well organized Europe. And there are many other ways in which Europe could serve itself by forces now misdirected or restrained.

Such functions are entirely foreign to courts. Many American municipalities have found in recent years that they can be governed better by a "commission" composed of a small number of selected men, than by a large legislative body (frequently consisting of two houses) and a separately chosen executive. These "commissions" possess both legislative and executive powers. Some such body, with ample powers and large discretion would seem to be the best as a co-ordinating power and authority to harmonize the nations of Europe. Its functions would be largely legislative and the selection and employment of expert administrators, executives, investigators, etc. It would also establish courts, to which important matters would be referred for decision. Also many other features would be added as needs would develop. We should at present keep as far as possible away from dogmatism concerning detail, but we should press the great need and the great principles forward as rapidly as possible.

MANY PEACE PROPOSALS

The author wishes here to acknowledge his obligations to and his sincere admiration for the great advocates of peace, past and present. He appreciates the work done by the American peace organizations in creating an intelligent public opinion for peace, notably the American Peace Society, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, The World Peace Foundation, the League to Enforce Peace, etc., and also the numerous foreign peace organizations.*

And of course we are all indebted to the Hague Conferences for their important work.

The prevailing view (except of those who would suddenly jump to a world state—a complete world government) is that international peace should be a negative sort of thing—merely an absence of war. The usual conception is of entirely separate and independent nationalities, completely sovereign;

*Special mention should be made of the constructive work of the International Agreements Committee of the Fabian Research Department, as set forth in supplements to the *New Statesman* for July 10th and 17th, 1915—(10 Great Queen Street, Kingsway, W. C., London).

and the machinery proposed for the preservation of peace among them consists of courts, boards of arbitration, councils of conciliation, etc. The idea always is that of preserving the separateness and distinctness of the nations, and of machinery to adjudicate or arbitrate differences arising among these distinct entities. It is evident that "differences" arise more readily among separate nations entertaining the opinion that their interests are necessarily different and antagonistic, than among the same states so co-ordinated as to make it plain to them that their interests are mutual and not antagonistic. The importance of this change of attitude cannot be exaggerated.

The author recognizes that the present war and the problems arising from it are essentially European, though deeply concerning the rest of the world, particularly the United States of America. In view of the constructive work of past international congresses, a resumption and regular continuation of similar congresses is proposed as the easiest and most natural approach to international organization. A study of the things actually done by international congresses as

long ago as a century demonstrates the large international authority that they have exercised.

It would be nothing radical to so arrange that these international congresses that have met so often shall meet regularly: annually, biennially, or triennially. Then we would have the international body that so many have longed for and dreamed of. It would not be in its final form, but it would be a real international instrument containing vast possibilities for future development. If an international body a century ago could provide for an International Commission to control the commerce on the international rivers of Europe in the remarkably constructive way that is shown on pages 28-41 of this book, certainly an international body of the present time can provide for a European Commerce Commission to control international land commerce on the continent of Europe and provide access to the sea for the commerce of all the European nations on terms as though the territory of every European nation extended to every available port. This alone would satisfy the entire continent of Europe as no other act has ever satisfied it;

and this alone would incalculably promote fraternity and a sense of mutuality in Europe, and hence prevent the many "differences" that would otherwise have to be submitted to an international court, board of arbitration or council of conciliation.

A body that can do this can do many other things of a constructive nature in the service of all Europe. This would be only a beginning. Could not such a body provide for neutralization of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and for the international government of Asia Minor, as proposed in this book? Above all things, such a body could provide for the perfection of itself or for the creation of another body to take its place. Here we would have, by an easy and natural process, a process long familiar to Europe, the necessary international body which would eliminate international war in Europe by substituting something incomparably better than war.

And the diplomats?—bless them! No need of diplomats then. California sends no diplomat to Pennsylvania or to Maine. California's "diplomats" meet the "diplomats" of all the other states in the houses of Congress

at Washington. No need of the nations of Europe exchanging diplomats when the body above mentioned can do more for the co-ordination and harmony of Europe than all the diplomats have ever done. Indeed this would be a new diplomacy—an effective kind. In this international body the nations of Europe would find a clearing house for all their mutual interests. And please notice the importance of placing the emphasis on *mutual interests* instead of on "differences," "difficulties" and "disputes."

Every plan for international co-operation known to the writer provides for the expense to run the machinery by fiscal assessments of every participating government. This is radically wrong. A body unable to provide for its own support cannot do its best work. It is here proposed that this body be authorized to impose a small stamp tax, say on transportation tickets from one country to another. The duties of the body would be international; its authority would be international. Hence the fitness of an international tax, a tax on some international function, as traveling from one country to another, imposed by it for its support. And

goods enjoying the services of the European Commerce Commission as proposed in this book could bear a small tax to pay the expenses of the service. Thus the principle of taxation by international authority would be established—a solid basis for the international entity that both poets and statesmen have dreamed of, and the creation of which this war has made the next necessary step in political development.

AMERICA'S EXPERIENCES

The first federal contract of the American colonies did not permit the central government to lay taxation to pay for its own existence. It was permitted only to assess each state for its proportion of the general expenses, but it had no power to enforce payment. As a consequence several states got far behind in their payments, and some even refused to pay. This was one of the many reasons for a new mutual contract, which was proposed in the form of a new federal constitution, the work of the Constitutional Convention which met in Philadelphia in 1787. This constitution gave Congress the power to lay and collect taxes for its own and for all

general needs. This feature is one of the fundamental causes for the success of the American federation—which was the first federation of independent states to give that power to a central body.

If Europe would learn by the experience of history, it will give the central co-ordinating body the power to lay and collect taxes for its own support and for the general good. Without this power, the body could be starved out of existence, and in the course of time it would be likely to strike that fatal rock; it would always be in danger of striking it. It should be enabled by its own authority and power to take care of itself and perform all its functions.

This body, a permanent co-ordinating international authority, would have the authority and the power to *really* “neutralize” the small nations, various outlying islands, colonies, etc. The U. S. A. would doubtless be glad to place the Philippine Islands under the protection of such a body. Indeed, it is conceivable that the neutralization process might extend, under growing co-ordinating authority, until we might have a neutralized world!

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